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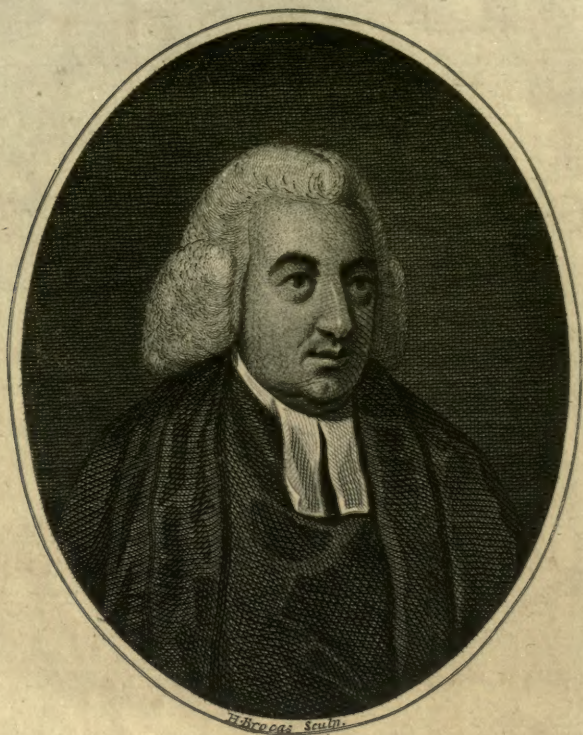
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THE REV.<sup>D</sup> JOHN GAST, D.D.

*Archdeacon of Glandelagh &c. &c.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
GREECE,  
*PROPERLY SO CALLED.*

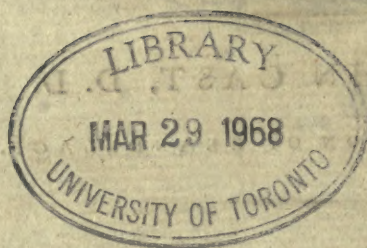
VOL. I.  
TO THE  
ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,

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BY JOHN GAST, D. D.  
ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

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DUBLIN:  
PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW.  
—1793.—



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# P R E F A C E

BY THE

E D I T O R.

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ONE advantage at least, amidst a number of inconveniences, attends the publication of a posthumous work, that an opportunity is furnished, without hurting the feelings of the author, of giving to the world a just account of his life, and of his services to the cause of literature. A long and intimate acquaintance with the person and family of the late Dr. Gast has enabled the editor to gratify curiosity with the following information.

JOHN GAST, D. D. archdeacon of Glendelagh, was born in Dublin July 29, 1715. His father Daniel Gast, a protestant of Saintonge, in the province of Guyenne, was a regular bred physician, and followed his profession in his own country, till he was obliged

ed by the persecution of 1684 to escape into Ireland, where he entered into the service of Q. Anne, obtained a cornet's commission in Col. Joseph de Salander's regiment of dragoons, and after the peace of Utrecht, resuming his original profession, settled in Dublin for the remainder of his life. This gentleman was naturalized in 1712, took a doctor's degree in medicine, and is said to have had good success in his business. He married a lady of Bourdeaux, Elizabeth Grenoilleau, a very near relation of the celebrated Baron de Montesquieu. It deserves to be remembered here, to the honour of the French nation in general, as well as of that part of it in particular which adopted the reformed religion, that property was considered there as a thing so sacred and unalienable, notwithstanding the strongest prejudices of education, that more than half a century after the retreat of Dr. Gass's family from France, his right to an inheritance which then devolved to him was acknowledged, and a sum not much short of 1000*l.* was transmitted to him from his relations at Bourdeaux, through the hands of his warm friend and admirer, the late Alderman George Sutton.

Our author received the early part of his education in the diocesan school of St. Patrick's, Dublin, under a severe but able schoolmaster, the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, from  
whose



whose ferula he passed to the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Gilbert, vice provost of Trinity-college, Dublin. He obtained his bachelor's degree with honour in that university in 1735, and was prevented only by an early matrimonial engagement\* from standing candidate for a fellowship, a preferment to which it is well known that none but scholars of the most eminent industry have any pretensions to aspire.

ENTERING into holy orders, he began his career by serving as chaplain to the French congregation at Portarlington. Thence he removed to Dublin, and about the year 1744 became curate of the parish of St. John, first under the Rev. Dean Maturin, and then under the Rev. John Owen dean of Clonmacnois. To the labours of this important and fatiguing cure a growing family made it necessary for him to add a weekly lecture at St. John's, daily prayers at six in the morning in St. Mary's chapel Christ-church, and the business of a schoolmaster.

IN the discharge of this last duty he was certainly not exceeded by any one master that has ever appeared in Dublin. Besides the learned languages, he taught French to per-

\* He married Felicia, only daughter of Andrew Huddleston, an English gentleman, a younger son of a good family in Cumberland. She is still living.

fection ; was particularly attentive to prosody and composition, both English and Latin ; and possessed a singular ability in conveying the rudiments of history and geography. He was not anxious to augment the number of his scholars, which at no one time exceeded thirty ; so that, for several years, he continued to support the burden of a school without the assistance of an usher. The parish of St. John's abounds with poor ; and the care of the prisoners in the four-courts marshalsea, which is annexed to the cure, would appear of itself a sufficient employment for one clergyman. Yet in the midst of fatigues almost beyond belief, our author had the happiness to preserve a flow of chearfulness, which made his company delightful to the whole parish, and to all that had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

It was under the heaviest pressure of these multiplied employments, that he composed a history of ancient Greece in the form of a dialogue, and gave it to the public in one octavo volume in the year 1753. The work, which being published chiefly by the aid of a moderate subscription is now become scarce, is not a mere exchange of question and answer, but a dramatic dialogue between three characters—a master, a scholar who has made some progress in ancient history, and a novice. The university of Dublin was so  
well



well pleased with this performance\*, that they conferred on the author the degree of D. D. at the instance of the late provost Andrews, without any expence. He took this degree in Feb. 1765.

HOWEVER, the dialogue form, which Dr. Galt had made choice of to relieve the tediousness of history, he found many of his readers agree in considering as too great an interruption to the course of the narrative. Guided by their opinion, he was induced to new-model his work; and in compliance with the same advice, he undertook the more arduous task of drawing out a complete history of the Grecian people, from the earliest accounts of time, to their final humiliation under the Othman yoke. It was an enterprize, which, in the manner he was determined to conduct it, required an uncommon share both of industry and leisure: and although leisure was never permitted to a man in his situation, yet for the concluding ten years of

\* Copy from the Registry-book of T. C. D.

*Trinity College, Dublin, Feb. 7, 1760.*

By order of the Provost and Senior Fellows, I certify, that they approve of the *Rudiments of Grecian History* published by the Rev. Mr. Galt, as a book very proper to be read by young gentlemen at school, for their instruction in the History of Greece.

FRAN. STO. SULLIVAN, Register.

his

his life, every hour that he could by any exertion make his own was devoted to the attainment of this great object of his wishes.

IN the prosecution of his labour he changed his plan more than once, but had at last fixed on the following arrangement. The entire history was to be extended to the size of three volumes in quarto, the London edition. Of these the first volume, deducing the history to the accession of Alexander the great, was to be formed chiefly from his original work, thrown out of a dialogue into a continued narrative. The second was to have traced the fortunes of Greece proper from Alexander's time to the present day: and this part he actually published in London in 1782, prompted, it is likely, to the premature exhibition of this second volume, as a separate work, by the representation of his printer there, who reported to him (and with truth, as the event proved) that two writers of considerable ability\* were actually engaged in a similar undertaking. In the last volume, it was his intention to give to his readers the history of Alexander's successors in Egypt and Asia; a theme, which is so far from having been exhausted by the labours of modern writers in any country, that on the contrary it may almost advance a claim to the title of novelty. Of this truth the diligence

\* Mr. Mitford and Dr. Gillies.



of the excellent historian Dr. Robertson has furnished one very manifest proof, in his late ingenious discovery of the state of European commerce with India under the reign of the Ptolemies.

IT is but justice to the memory of Dr. Gaft to observe, that in complying with the printer's desire to have the volume which came out in 1782 brought forward to public view at that early season, he himself was influenced by no jealousy or dread of the success of a fellow-labourer. The editor has before him two letters, in which our author, after thanking him for the concern he had expressed lest the intended republication in Dublin of Gillies and Mitford's histories should injure the sale of his own, speaks with so much candour on the delicate subject of a competitor for literary honour, that it is hoped the public will not be displeased to see an extract from each letter, from whence a judgment may be formed of the temper of mind with which he received the first report of the approaching appearance of his two rivals.

*Newcastle, Nov. 24, 1780.*

‘ As to Dr. Gillies, I question not in the  
 ‘ least the excellence of his performance.  
 ‘ But our plans may differ. It is likely, he  
 ‘ may not take in as extensive a period as I  
 ‘ have in view. And should we even follow  
 ‘ the

' the same line, and draw exactly from the  
 ' same sources, yet he may not see matters  
 ' in the same light that I do. Were there  
 ' even to be no other difference, yet the  
 ' manner and style of two writers, who have  
 ' any thing of originality and are not merely  
 ' copiers, must give to the work of each of  
 ' them a peculiar and distinguishing cast. So  
 ' that, how justly soever he may be deserving  
 ' of the public approbation, it does not cer-  
 ' tainly follow, that your friend must be sent  
 ' to the pastry cook's. Not to say, that, if  
 ' the only advantage I have a chance for is to  
 ' have my work issue abroad before Dr. Gillies  
 ' can make his appearance, it is an advantage  
 ' of no great value. The last comer is not  
 ' always the worst off, unless a turtle-feast is  
 ' the business. And Mr. Murray knows well,  
 ' how little resemblance there is between a  
 ' turtle-feast and literary diet.'

' *January 8, 1785.*

' WITH respect to Mr. Mitford's publica-  
 ' tion, I am altogether easy about it. In  
 ' London the publication of a history, even  
 ' of the English nation, has not prevented  
 ' the publication and favourable reception of  
 ' another such history. Concerning the  
 ' history of Greece, especially the earlier ages  
 ' of that country, various schemes may be  
 ' adopted, and the same transactions may be  
 ' placed



‘ placed in different lights, according to the  
‘ genius and principles of the writer, and  
‘ the impresson made on his mind. . . . .  
‘ In consequence, however, of your advice  
‘ respecting a republication of Mitford here,  
‘ where we move in a more confined sphere,  
‘ I called on Alderman Exshaw: but, on  
‘ my way to him, it occurred to me, what  
‘ an improper part I should act, were I to  
‘ prevent the publication of a work, merely  
‘ because it might clash with my private in-  
‘ terest. A printer is properly a trustee for  
‘ the public. And if a work is really worthy  
‘ of the public perusal, and may contribute to  
‘ the improvement of the public manners,  
‘ shall a printer, from pique or favour, with-  
‘ hold such a work from the community, to  
‘ whose instruction he is by his profession  
‘ bound to administer? Upon this principle,  
‘ I barely mentioned to Mr. Exshaw my  
‘ intention of publishing my whole history in  
‘ Ireland in the course of the year now cur-  
‘ rent, and left it to him to judge how far my  
‘ scheme, should it be attended with success,  
‘ might lower the value of that edition of  
‘ Mitford which he had in view. Was I  
‘ right? What he has done, I know not.’

To these extracts I shall venture to subjoin  
a third, taken from the beginning of the last  
mentioned letter, because it furnishes a short  
and authentic explanation of the reason, why  
the publication of this whole history was de-  
ferred so long, that the hand of fate at length  
arrested

arrested the worthy author before he had the satisfaction of seeing it completed.

‘ My Grecian history, at present my grand object, I thought to have ready for the press by March at farthest. A very important law-suit, which affects some near friends of mine, and in which I had taken an active part these two years past, has since the beginning of October required my attention in a very particular manner. A reference, under the sanction of the court of exchequer, had been agreed to, for the purpose of adjusting the accounts in question. And in order to bring these accounts in the fullest and fairest point of view before the referees, it was found necessary to unravel the intricacies of a long and complicated account of thirty years. And this labour, at the expence of ten hours a day writing for two months, have I been obliged to go through. The ground is now tolerably open, and the referees, I trust, will have a complete exhibition of the true state of things. This, you may judge, has delayed me.’

AND delay him it did, unfortunately for others besides himself, till the final close of an active and well-spent life obliged him to leave to his family the settling of an account, which, there is reason to fear, is not to this day adjusted.

DR.



DR. GAST had continued a curate in the diocese of Dublin for the space of seventeen years, when his acknowledged merit was at length rewarded by archbishop Cobbe, who in 1761 presented him to the living of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, worth in the gross about 300*l.* yearly. His grace's bounty did not stop here: for in June 1764 he was pleased to add to Arklow the archdeaconry of Glandelagh with the parish of Newcastle, about eight miles from Dublin, annexed, which nearly doubled his income. Between the date of this last preferment and the former, our author had recommended himself to the particular regard of the archbishop by the attention he paid to the education of his grace's grandson, the present Charles Cobbe, Esq. who was trusted to his care in his rural retirement near Arklow. After he had removed to the parsonage house at Newcastle, he continued for some years to educate a few boarders, but as a charge so moderate, that the advantage rested too much on their side; so that encrease of years, conspiring with very moderate desires, induced him at length to relinquish the profession of a classical teacher entirely. Archbishop Cradock had besides made it necessary for him to devote a considerable share of his time to a town parish, by giving him in exchange for Arklow, which lies at too great a distance from the corps of the archdeaconry, the cure of St. Nicolas-

without in Dublin, in value nearly equal to what he resigned for it, but in weight of duty much more considerable. He was appointed curate of St. Nicolas-without in the year 1775 ; and in this station, among many other beneficial exertions, he planned and had the pleasure of carrying into execution a scheme of weekly contributions for the relief of the numerous poor in that great resort of manufacturers ; a scheme, which was and is still productive of incredible good.

INDEED to his able and exemplary conduct, in the several offices to which he was called in the church, the most ample testimony of facts may be adduced. In the parish of St. John, where he spent the most active part of his life, he was so entirely beloved, that they presented him, on his departure, with a piece of plate of uncommon value in proportion to the ability of that parish, with an inscription expressing in the most honourable terms their sense of his long and faithful services. A similar compliment, and the first of the kind that was paid to one of its members by that corporation, was made to Dr. Galt by the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, the year that he served the office of proctor. To the Roman catholics, who form a large majority of the parish of Newcastle, he was not the less acceptable for being known to be the author of a well-meant attempt to reconcile



concile them to protestantism, in a tract to which he did not affix his name, intitled, *a Letter from a clergyman of the established church of Ireland to those of his parishioners who are of the popish communion: Dublin, Sleater, 1767*: a work, which deserves to be preserved in the library of every protestant, for the sake of its reasoning; and of every christian, for the spirit of benevolence that may be imbibed from it.

WHEN the life of their much respected pastor was terminated at length by the gout in the year 1788, a subscription was immediately opened among his parishioners of every description, to erect a handsome marble monument to his memory in the parish church of Newcastle, which, by some unlucky accidents, though long in the sculptor's hands, is not yet ready to be set up. An epitaph, said to be from the pen of his immediate successor in that parish, was ordered to be inscribed on the monument, which does so much justice to the character of the deceased, that the editor, conscious of his own inability to draw up a better, has been tempted to annex it entire to this account.

## E P I T A P H.

In the adjoining chancel lie the remains of  
**JOHN GAST, D. D.**  
 Late Archdeacon of Glandelagh, and  
 Curate of St. Nicolas without :  
 Who departed this life the 25. of Feb. 1788,  
 Aged 72 years and six months.  
 For 23 years and upwards,  
 This parish was happy in the fruits  
 Of his ministerial labours.  
 Affable, chearful, learned, zealous, charitable,  
 He conciliated the affections of all ;  
 And his life presented  
 An engaging example of that christian practice,  
 Which with persuasive energy he recommended,  
 As a minister of the gospel.

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In grateful remembrance of his services,  
 His parishioners have placed this stone,  
 A memorial to posterity :  
 Desirous, that their children may venerate  
 The beauty of religion exemplified in a good life,  
 And aspire after the attainment of those virtues,  
 Which are acceptable with GOD,  
 And cause the dead to be remembered  
 With affection and respect.



THE public has a right to ask, by what means the office of collecting and laying before them the materials that compose the first volume of the following history (for the *second* came out, as we have said, in 1782\*, in the author's life time) has devolved upon the editor.

THE most important benefit, which one human creature can receive from another, is the blessing of a good education. It is a service, which, if faithfully executed, can never be compensated by money; and to the man, and to the whole family of the man, from whom I learned to speak, and think, and feel as a cultured mind will help us to do, would I labour, as long as God should grant me life and means, to testify my gratitude. I was his scholar, and the first with whom he opened his school. He cherished me as a parent, till my literary toils were overpaid with the attainment of a fellowship in Dublin college, and he loved me as a friend ever after. For he was not the character that Dr. Johnson had in view, when he remarked, I fear with too good authority from daily experience, that “among the evils which arise from the vicissitudes of life, one of the most common is the mutability of friendships.”

IN the unreserved confidence to which the author admitted me, I was of course a party

\* In London, but not in Dublin. The entire history was never published till now.

to his scheme of altering that dialogue-history, which had been my instructor when I was a boy ; and he condescended also to listen to my advice as to separating the story of the Macedonian kings from that of the other successors of Alexander, the intermixture of which parallel, yet distinct, histories is a heavy incumbrance on the memory and patience of a young reader. If it be now a subject of just concern, that he did not live to fill up his outline by the addition of a third volume to the work here offered to public view, it is at least a consolation to me to reflect, that in persuading him to keep clear of the transactions of Syria and Egypt, I put it into his power to give the finishing hand to his second volume, and to be himself a witness to its favourable reception.

SEVENTY years of life, together with frequent visits of the gout, did not discourage his ardent spirit from looking forward to the consummation of his enterprise : but especially he always persuaded himself, the new casting of his first work would be a matter of so little difficulty, that he might count upon its execution by a *coup de main* at any time : and what may be done at *any* time is very apt, we know, to be done at *no* time. He began, however, as I have ended, by adopting the greatest part of his original *Rudiments* (as he modestly called them) of the Grecian history, without their dramatic form ; and he had advanced



vanced as far as the second book, when he appears to have made a great alteration, as well in the plan itself of his work, as in his manner of writing; and such an alteration, as, I must take leave to say, I do not think an improvement. As if he had been apprehensive of a defect of matter, or was carried away by the success of some late refiners, who choose to give us the *spirit* of history instead of *facts*, with which last they seem to take it for granted the reader is already perfectly acquainted, he grew diffusive, and argumentative, and conjectural; insomuch that he had, in his first book, (as he began it anew) discovered not less than *twenty-one* reasons why the ancient Greeks were so addicted to mythology. All this superfluity however, we may reasonably presume, his after judgment would have rejected; for the writer must have plenty before him, who wishes to make a selection. Neither should I have mentioned the circumstance here, if some apology had not appeared necessary to such of the author's friends as may chance to be in possession hereafter of his papers, for my not adopting his *second thoughts*.

IN one of his serious alarms from the gout, he sketched out, in faltering and for the most part scarcely legible characters, the form of a last will, in which I found, after his decease, very plainly the following words:

“ As

“ As to my Grecian history, perhaps Dr. Stock ——” What followed, I could not read ; nor in truth was it necessary.

THE invocation of a beloved friend, at the moment when the tomb is closing upon him, is solemn and irresistible. I might have urged, that I have as little leisure as most people. I might have said, with equal adherence to fact, that I have never been able even to approach to the enviable faculty of doing more things than one at a time. But I knew, that with some pains-taking, and some encroachment on my own business, there was a chance, that I might serve at once the memory of the dead and the interests of the living ; for a widow and daughter, not left in a state of independence, may profit considerably by the indulgence of a generous public to this work. I undertook the task, therefore, without foreseeing how much of my reward I was to receive in the very prosecution of it.

TRANSCRIBING those well-known pages, which had afforded to my opening mind a mingled delight, as well from the interesting nature of the story (for surely there is no history more interesting than the Grecian) as from my veneration of its narrator, carried a pleasure along with it, which I had not looked for. Memory brought back, at almost every paragraph, the golden days of childhood, when I was encouraged, not to read only,



only, but to animadvert on, every incident that supplied matter of disquisition, to question the authenticity of a fact, and even to dispute with the author himself on the judgment he had passed upon it. For such was his method of continuing instruction to us, when the regular hours of teaching were over.

HE would propose a query on the historical lesson of the day : Was it probable, that Lycurgus took an oath of his Spartans to observe his laws for the time that he should be absent from them ? and if that legislator believed they would keep the oath, was he to blame for killing himself ? What are we to think of *the genius* of Socrates ? was it real, or the illusion of a heated fancy ? Who was the wiser counsellor for Athens, Demosthenes or Phocion ?—with many more of the like nature. And it was a triumph, if he could provoke us to consign our puny arguments to writing. Indeed he would himself give no little animation to the debate by the sallies of a natural vivacity, which overleaping place and time would set him down, as it were, in the midst of the people he was descanting upon ; and to hear him talk of the *scoundrel* Flamininus, or the *villain* Paulus Æmilius, you could imagine no less, than that the speaker himself was one of the thousand hostages from Achaia\*, whom a perfidious policy

\* See Vol. 2. p. 534.

detained,

detained, till they became *fine old Grecians* in Italy.

How far the pleasurable association of ideas I have now described may have influenced my judgment, when I subjoin my earnest testimony, such as it is, to the merit of the following history, it is not for me to determine. assuredly I please myself with the hope, that it will be found a valuable accession to the library, at least, of the *young* reader. The language is simple, neither turgid nor creeping. Curiosity is kept awake by a judicious and well connected detail, where nothing seems to have been omitted that is material, nothing is introduced to swell the size of the volume, or to shew off the writer more than his subject. Moral instruction, the most precious fruit of the study of history, is not forgotten, wherever there is an open for it; and the lesson is such, as might have been expected to proceed out of a heart, that overflowed with love towards God and man.

JOSEPH STOCK.

*Dolgany, 24 June, 1793.*

THE



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THE  
AUTHOR'S  
P R E F A C E.

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THE annals of Greece include, perhaps, the most interesting and instructive portion of the History of Man. They exhibit the gradual progress of a people, from the rudeness of savage life to the perfection of refinement and civility. They mark the steps, by which this illustrious part of mankind advanced to the first rank among the families of the earth; although they were inconsiderable in numbers, in riches, and in the extent or fertility of territory. Surmounting the disadvantages of their situation, they disputed the prize of empire with the great powers of Asia; and bore away the palm of arts as well as arms from the nations  
of

of the East, who for ages had possessed it unrivalled and uncontrolled. But while we admire the Greeks as distinguished by signal achievements, and dignified by every noble exertion of the human mind, we remark with pain, even in the zenith of their glory, the approaching decline of public virtue, and are led to contemplate the bold encroachments of venality and discord, which reduced by degrees this extraordinary people to the most abject state of servitude and insignificance.

STRUCK with these revolutions of fortune, we cannot fail to derive from them an ample source of instruction. They point out and illustrate the sure means of advancing the prosperity and happiness of nations. The age of glory to Greece was the age of virtuous manners. Corrupted by success, her prosperity departed from her. The diversities of her story, amidst the passions they excite, bespeak forcibly the superintendency of a Divine Providence, and inculcate the important truth, that happiness is the reward of virtue, and misery the consequence vice.

WHEN surveyed in a proper light, the history of antient times is the school of wisdom. To form a just estimate of the manners and institutions of nations now subsisting,  
is



is a task which is always difficult, and often invidious. In judging of events too near the present day, we are apt to be misled by our prejudices. The springs of action are, in general, hid from our observation; and we are under the necessity of reasoning from views that are confined and partial. The transient operation of some incidental circumstance is often mistaken for a first cause; and we praise or condemn measures of which we know not the principle, and cannot ascertain the tendency. The case, however, of nations who have run their career is very different. We have before us the whole line of their history. We behold the rise, the progress, and the termination of their fortunes. We discover the advantages and the defects of their polity, and can unfold the mistakes of their rulers. We observe the coincidence of conduct and success which exalted them to power; and can trace the degeneracy and misfortunes which hastened their decline. Unbiased by connection, and undistracted by opposition of interests, truth alone becomes the object of our curiosity and search. Unawed by station, we call to account the proudest prince; and unsuspected of flattery, we bestow upon every gallant deed the full portion of glory which it merits.

BUT

BUT while these advantages apply to the transactions of the Greeks, there is another favourable circumstance which attended them. Greece abounded in excellent writers, in generals, philosophers, and statesmen; and by these the memorials of her history have been transmitted to posterity. Of such men the compositions cannot be sufficiently esteemed. They enjoyed a share in the councils of their country; they acted a part in the scenes they describe; they were fully informed concerning the laws and the constitutions of the states whose fortunes they record; they had the honesty and the boldness to detect and expose the errors from which any public misadventure had arisen; and often, at the peril of their lives, they resisted and repressed the passionate excesses of a capricious and misguided multitude.

THERE are five periods, into which the History of Greece may be divided.

I. THE first period, during which Greece may be considered as emerging into life, extends from the earliest accounts of the foundation of its states to the expulsion of the Pisistratidae; and includes a space of about six hundred years. In this period, independently of the Argonautic expedition, and of many heroic achievements which are involved in the darkness of fable, there are comprehended

hended the institution of the Amphictyonic council, the Trojan war, the legislations of Minos, of Lycurgus, of Solon, and what chiefly contributed to form the Grecian character, the establishment of the liberties of Athens.

II. THE second period is properly the age of glory of the Grecian people, and takes in about sixty years. It commences with the ejection of the Pisistratidae, and closes with the death of Cimon. It is adorned with the noble exertions of the Greeks against the Persian power, at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plateae, and Eurymedon.

III. THE third period comprises about one hundred and fourteen years, from the death of Cimon to that of Philip of Macedon. Here the prospect is obscured. The power and opulence, which Greece had purchased by her victories, introduced ostentation, luxury, and insolence. Her states, relieved from the terror of a foreign enemy, divided against each other; and, instead of being animated with a generous zeal for the public happiness, were pervaded and disgraced by dissolute pleasures, an oppressive spirit, and the lust of dominion. It was now that Greece began to decline. But her wealth, her magnificence, the arts in which she excelled,



excelled, the perfection of her drama, her skill and advancement in philosophy, in eloquence, and in literature, the polish of her manners, and the elegance of her taste, continued to give her the appearance of importance and of vigour. Her real strength, however, was decayed; and the disasters that ensued, first in the course of the Peloponnesian war, afterwards at Leuctra and Mantinea, and at length at Chaeronea, were the natural calamities which a people might expect, who had given way to ruinous dissipations, who were broken into factions, and who were false to themselves.

IV. THE fourth period extends from the accession of Alexander the Great, the founder of the empire of the Greeks, as it is sometimes called, to the first interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece. In this eventful period a total revolution of interests was produced. The overthrow of the Persian empire by the arms of Macedon, which the Prophets had announced, gave a beginning to the busy scene; and Alexander's fortunes, as it had been foretold, terminated here, his kindred and posterity having perished: instead of enjoying any advantage from his conquests, they were perhaps undone by them. Nor did his achievements operate to the prosperity of Greece, or even of Macedon. Depopulation, a disputed throne, and the

the repeated inroads of enemies, brought Macedon to the brink of destruction. Intestine divisions, and a general decay of virtue, reduced Greece from a state of splendour to a condition the most contemptible. One commonwealth, that of Achaia, was all that remained; and though it had formerly been little known, its improved polity, and unbroken manners, might have rendered it the bulwark of Greece. This, however, was prevented by the jealousy of its turbulent neighbours. Envious of its growing power, they provoked a war, in which all Greece was soon involved, and which at last invited the Roman ambition, and effected the ruin of this unhappy country. From the accession of Alexander to the entry of the Romans into Greece, there elapsed one hundred and twenty-four years.

V. THE period, which closes the melancholy prospect of the Grecian decline, comprehends the several plans of avowed hostility and of disguised perfidiousness, which the Romans employed in order to subject and accustom this illustrious people to the yoke of servitude. It includes their wars, affected lenity, and insidious conventions with the princes of Macedon, until they had brought that kingdom to a final submission; their treatment of the Aetolians, and of the Epirots; their memorable treachery to  
Achaia;

Achaia; the burning of Corinth; the utter extinction of liberty in Greece; the various calamities which flowed from Roman oppression, or the incursions of barbarians, during the long period of sixteen hundred years, till the taking of Constantinople by the Othmans delivered this unfortunate country into the hands of other tyrants; and finally, the condition in which the abject race, who now bear the name of Greeks, are to be found at this day, under the cruel and humiliating scourge of despotism.

To comprife in two volumes the history of these several periods is the object of the present undertaking, upon which the Author has employed the pains and the industry that correspond with its importance. It does not, however, become him to affirm, that his abilities were equal to the task in which he has been engaged; and while he submits himself with diffidence to the judgment of the public, he knows and respects its impartiality. During the course of his labours, he has pleased himself with the reflection, that a sincere desire of contributing to the prosperity of his country was impressed upon his mind; and he felt himself to be animated with the hope, that the errors and misfortunes



fortunes of other nations and other times might induce his fellow-citizens to set the highest value upon a constitution which has freedom for its object, and which protects and supports the natural and inherent rights of mankind.



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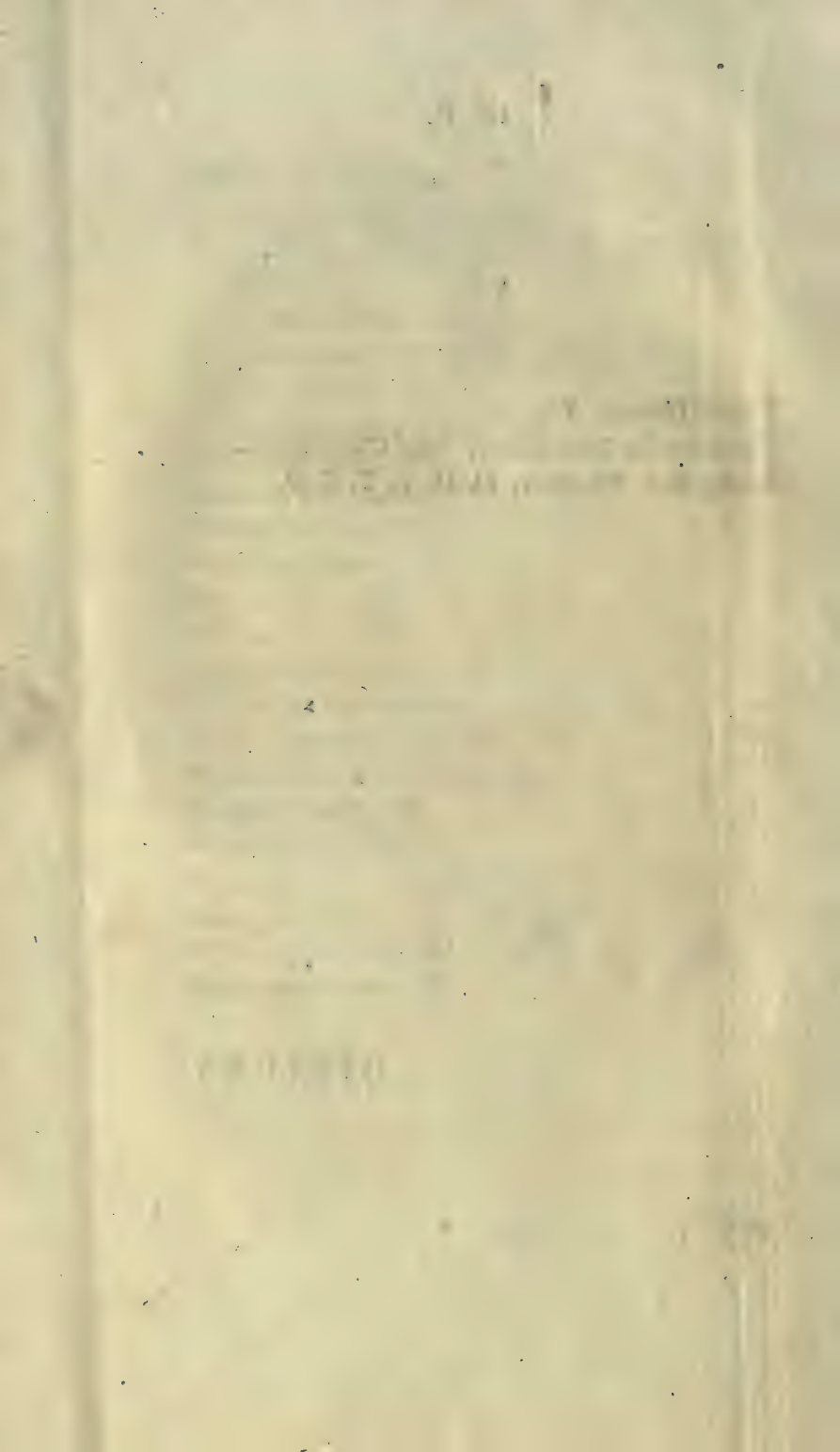
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HISTORY





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# HISTORY OF GREECE

TO THE  
ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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## B O O K I.

### S E C T I O N I.

**T**H E early times of the Greeks, like those of B o o k  
most other nations, are involved in deep I.  
obscurity ; and the few notices which antient wri- Sect. I.  
ters afford us amount only to this, that the first  
Grecian inhabitants were a barbarous, uninstructed  
people.

THIS rude state continued to be the state of  
Greece long after the eastern tribes had attained  
an high degree of improvement ; and already had  
the kingdoms of Egypt, of Assyria, of Palestine,  
rendered their names memorable, when the Gre-  
cian

BOOK cian land, the destined parent of science to the

I. European world, was only the haunt of vagrant  
Sect. 1. savages, ranging the wild in quest of food, and  
taking up their casual abode under the covert of  
the forest.

JAVAN, the fourth son of Japheth, appears from authentic testimony to have been the founder of the Grecian people. He is supposed to have made his way into this country from the far side of the Euxine sea, at what time mankind began to disperse from the plain of Shinar or Sennaar, in the neighbourhood of which they had during the first ages after the deluge been gathered together, and to have seated himself somewhere about those parts since called Attica and Aegialean Achaia, as the appellation of *Iones*, or rather, as it was originally, *Iaones*, *Javans descendants*, by which the inhabitants of Greece were for many ages peculiarly distinguished, seems to indicate. Other colonists shortly after followed; the want of room, as mankind increased, the spirit of adventure, and perhaps also the turbulent ambition of some of the Nimrods of those days, inducing numbers to forsake their native homes, and to attempt distant settlements; some of whom found entrance into Greece, and sat down in different parts of it. These early populations were however exceedingly imperfect, and produced little alteration. Thinly scattered over the face of the country, and unconnected with each other, the several families had their whole attention employed in seeking for sustenance, or in providing for their defence against the beasts of prey with which they were surrounded. Strangers to the aids to be obtained from social life, without letters, without commerce, without industry, they had soon lost remembrance of the few arts they might have possessed before their emigration; and if any memorial of the antient traditions

traditions concerning Noah and the antediluvian world remained among them, the faint trace gradually died away, or was disfigured with some absurd, fabulous colouring. B o o k I. Sect. 1.

ACCORDINGLY, the accounts given by the Grecian writers themselves speak these first inhabitants of Greece as wild, a race of savages, as any that the page of history makes mention of. They had neither land tilled, nor hut to dwell in, nor garment to cover them. The grass of the field, leaves of trees, and sometimes unwholesome herbs, were the food they fed on, and the cavern of the earth the best shelter they had against the inclemencies of the seasons. And one of their first improvers left a name among them of the highest veneration, for having taught them to clothe themselves with skins, and to eat the acorn of the beech.

IN this manner had upwards of eight hundred years elapsed since the first peopling of the Grecian land, and still was Greece the seat of barbarous ignorance, when at length a ray of science found a passage through the gloom, and though advancing at the first slowly and with a pale and doubtful glimmering, by degrees lighted up that day of glory which has shed so much splendor on the Grecian fortunes. From what events was brought on this extraordinary revolution in the character of the Grecian people, is a matter well worthy of historical enquiry: it forms a memorable epoch in our European annals.

TOWARDS the latter end of the days of Eli, an important change took place in Egypt. For some generations had the lower Egypt been under the yoke of the shepherd-kings, supposed to be of the race of the Canaanites who had fled before the face of Joshua. Misphragmuthosis, king of the Thebais in upper Egypt, made war on them, and confined them within narrower limits. His son and successor Bef Christ 1127.



BOOK successor Amosis completed their expulsion ; and

I. having at the same time dispossessed the several petty  
Sect. 1. princes who reigned throughout the other parts of  
Egypt, he embodied all their principalities into  
one kingdom. The consequence was, that multi-  
tudes retired out of Egypt into Palestine and the  
countries adjacent ; others again pushing on to  
settlements more remote, embarked in such ves-  
sels as were then in use among the Egyptians, and  
coasting along the Mediterranean, landed in  
Greece and its neighbouring islands ; of which  
last number Cecrops, Deucalion, Lelex, Inachus,  
Pelasgus, Teutamus, Abas, were the leaders.  
These Egyptian strangers were received by the  
rude inhabitants with that unsuspecting cordiality  
for which the ignorant savage has generally been  
remarkable, and (which has seldom been the  
case) they did not abuse it. They taught them  
an happier mode of life : they instructed them to  
clear away their forests, to build cottages, to form  
hamlets (for such may we properly call the cities  
of those early days) to cultivate their grounds, and  
to raise a food more nutritious and healthful than  
they had hitherto known.

PELASGUS advanced into the heart of Pelopon-  
nesus, to that part since named Arcadia, the shal-  
low and unkindly soil of which rugged country so  
little encouraged cultivation, that he contented  
himself with teaching the savage tenants of it, in-  
stead of grass, to gather the wholesome acorn.  
Lelex did more. His seat was on the fruitful  
banks of the Eurotas, where he attempted with  
success the cultivating of corn after the Egyptian  
manner, which his son Myles taught his people to  
convert into bread by the useful invention of querns.  
To Inachus fell the district afterwards called Ar-  
golis : its principal river bears the name of that  
chief, whom poets, by a natural fiction, because  
he

he came by sea, havè styled the son of the ocean. B o o k  
 Deucalion seated himself in Theffaly. Abas passed I.  
 into the island of Eubœa; Teutamus into that of Sect. 1.  
 Crete: both countries, until this time, had probably been overgrown woodlands, without inhabitants.

WITH the arts however that conduce to the support and comfort of human life, these colonists did not fail to bring into their new settlements whatever manners and superstitions they had been accustomed to at home. Thus Pelasgus had come from the lower Egypt, and was originally of the Canaanitish race, among whom was practised the abomination of human sacrifices. And therefore did his son Lycaon, who reigned after him in Arcadia, attempt the introduction of that bloody rite into his kingdom, by which he lost the affections of his subjects. Some pretend, that he was torn in pieces by them; others, that he was changed into a beast of prey, and sent to howl through the wilds of Arcadia. The gods, say the fathers of the Grecian fable, provoked at this impiety, drove him from the abode of men, and transformed him into a wolf, a fit emblem of his savage mind. The ingenious fiction does honour to the feelings of this infant people.

FAR different was the spirit which directed the institutions of Cecrops, who has the honour to be the founder of the illustrious Athens. This kingdom, together with those of Thebes and Crete, being of all the Grecian principalities the highest in early fame, we shall enter into a more particular account of them than of any other.

CECROPS is said to have been originally of Sais in the lower Egypt. Forced from thence by the same revolution that sent the other Egyptians in quest of new habitations, he made choice with much wisdom of a seat less inviting than what had  
 been

**B o o k** been occupied by his companions, but greatly preferable in respect of security. He fixed himself  
**I.** in that part of Ionia, which to the south is washed  
**Sect. 1.** by the Saronic gulph, to the east by the Aegean sea, and to the north by the frith of Eubœa; a district well known to history by its subsequent name of Attica.

THE first care of Cecrops was to call in the dispersed natives from the woods and hollows of mountains, in which they had hitherto taken up their dwelling. He shewed them how to raise the clay-built cottage; he taught them to relish the decencies and comforts of life; and by the report of antient writers, he introduced also among them the use of bread-corn, of which he had brought a quantity from Egypt. These salutary institutions were attended with the success they well deserved. Attracted by their evident utility, the wild foresters crowded in to Cecrops from all the neighbouring parts in such numbers, that he soon counted twenty thousand inhabitants in his little kingdom. He distributed his people into twelve hamlets (probably the origin of the Athenian *δῆμοι*) assigning to each its own municipal magistracy; and that they might have a place of secure retreat in case of hostile incursion, one of these hamlets he fortified with particular care, having chosen for its situation a rocky eminence of great natural strength, which from his own name he called Cecropia; the same that in after times was improved into the Acropolis, or citadel of Athens.

AFTER providing in this manner for the order and defence of his new subjects, Cecrops directed his attention in the next place to fix their internal peace by the wisdom of his religious and civil institutions. He erected an altar to ΖΕΥΣ (or rather ΖΑΝ) ΠΑΤΟΣ, the Most High God, a title which plainly indicates



## TO THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

indicates what exalted notions he entertained of the omnipotent Sovereign of the universe. Some of the Greek historians charge him with having given to the Grecian people the example of idol-worship. But idol-worship was in Greece the sin of a subsequent age. The antient temples of Egypt admitted not any representation of the Divinity. And Cecrops was an Egyptian. Very probably, the Greek writers of later days have endeavoured to find in the supposed practice of this father of the Athenian people some plea for those idolatrous excesses which in their own times had overspread the Grecian world.

THE offerings, with which he appointed they should honour the divine nature, were remarkably frugal, adapted, it is likely, to the humble means of which the inhabitants of this infant state were in possession. He forbade the slaying of any animal: their religious oblations were to consist of cakes only. Some have thought, that this appointment was borrowed from the Egyptian ritual, which prohibited the sacrificing of any thing that had life. Perhaps his detestation of those human sacrifices, which among many of the nations of the earth had already defiled the altars of religion, may have had its share likewise in dictating such an ordinance.

To enforce decent manners, and strengthen the social link, he also ordained the marriage of one man with one woman, instead of those promiscuous intercourses to which the habits of ferine life had familiarized the Grecian tribes. Antient fable has recorded this part of the Cecropian institutions by an ingenious emblem. Cecrops, it was feigned, was composed of two bodies animated by one soul; and under such a figure the founder of Athens has been portrayed: an apt symbol of that matrimonial unity, from which the human heart

BOOK heart would derive the choicest blessings it is capa-

I. ble of knowing, did not its own corruptions too  
 Sect. 1. often interpose to rob it of the happiness intended  
 for it by its beneficent Maker.

EVEN the funeral rites, which the wise Cecrops  
 consigned to his people, and which, Cicero tells  
 us, the Athenians observed religiously down to his  
 own time, were not less pregnant with useful in-  
 struction. They are mentioned with admiration  
 by the illustrious Roman in his second Book of  
 Laws. ‘The nearest friends of the deceased com-  
 ‘mitted the body to the ground, and cast earth  
 ‘upon it, that the dead might repose in the bosom  
 ‘of the common parent of mankind. As soon as  
 ‘the spot was covered, the fruits of the earth  
 ‘were heaped over it, by way of expiation, that  
 ‘so this portion of soil might be rendered back to  
 ‘the uses of the living. Then followed a ban-  
 ‘quet, at which were present the relations of the  
 ‘deceased crowned with chaplets, and in their  
 ‘hearing an oration was pronounced in praise  
 ‘of their departed friend, *if he had deserved praise*;  
 ‘for it was accounted unlawful to utter a falsehood.  
 ‘And thus ended the solemnity.’ The learned  
 reader will observe a strong resemblance between  
 the several parts of this simple and affecting for-  
 mulary and the funeral observances of Egypt.

To a system of polity and manners the result of so  
 much wisdom, connected with a fortunate situation,  
 ancient writers ascribe the security which the Athe-  
 nians appear to have enjoyed from the earliest ages;  
 so that, although at times they suffered from the  
 tumultuary depredations of Carian pirates, and  
 other rovers, by whom the Grecian seas were early  
 infested, they never were driven from their first  
 settlements, but continued in one tract of improve-  
 ment from the days of Cecrops, perfecting the  
 rudiments of knowledge which that venerable  
 sage

sage had bequeathed to them. And therefore did **Book**  
 the arts of peace make quicker advances here, **I.**  
 than in any other part of Greece. Accordingly, **Sect. 1.**  
 it is the remark of Thucydides, that they were the  
 first of the Greeks who laid aside the use of arms,  
 that is, who were reclaimed from rapine and vio-  
 lence to a sense of the advantages of social life ;  
 whilst the several other Grecian communities were  
 convulsed by repeated revolutions, new adventur-  
 ers still dispossessing those who had begun to im-  
 prove, and forcing them to seek other seats.  
 Hence too the famous boast of the Athenians, that  
 they were *αὐτόχθονες*, *sprung out of their own soil*.  
 The settlements of those around them had frequent-  
 ly suffered overthrow, and there was undoubted  
 tradition how long the rest of the Grecians had  
 been in possession of the parts which they inhabit-  
 ed : whereas from the first of their being formed  
 into a people, the Athenians had remained on the  
 same spot ; there was no remembrance of their  
 having been transplanted to it from any other.

UPON the death of Cecrops, Cranaus, one of  
 his companions from Egypt, ascended the throne  
 of Athens, or rather of Cecropia ; the name of  
 Athens was not yet known. During his reign, the  
 plains of Theffaly were laid waste by an inunda-  
 tion (the effect, probably, of an earthquake) by  
 which Deucalion, who had seated himself in those  
 parts, was compelled to abandon his new settle-  
 ment, and to take refuge at the court of Cranaus.  
 Were the tales of fable to be admitted as evidence,  
 this deluge involved in one general destruction the  
 whole human race, Deucalion and his wife Pyr-  
 rha excepted. An obscure tradition of Noah's  
 deluge offered too fair an opportunity of embel-  
 lishment to the fabulists, to be neglected in their  
 own histories.

To



BOOK To Cranaus succeeded Erectheus. The reign  
 L of this prince was a period of great prosperity. The  
 Sect. 1. improvements of agriculture, to which the lessons  
 of Cecrops had prepared the way, had now been  
 carried to a considerable length: around every  
 hamlet the golden harvest began to wave, and the  
 important crop to reward the labours of the hus-  
 bandman. How highly valuable this change must  
 have appeared to a people just emerged from sa-  
 vage life, in the place of barbarous manners, ster-  
 ility and indigence, introducing cultivation, fruit-  
 fulness and plenty, we, who from our infancy  
 have been accustomed to that precious gift of hea-  
 ven, *sustaining bread*, can scarcely form a right  
 estimate. What thoughts those elder Greeks en-  
 tertained of the benefit, the curious antiquarian  
 will trace with pleasure, as well in the many inge-  
 nious fictions with which they have adorned this  
 portion of their annals, as in the various solemnities  
 instituted to commemorate the blessing.  
 ‘ Husbandry,’ say they, ‘ was a divine personage,  
 ‘ sent forth by the gods to visit the earth for the  
 ‘ relief of man.’ Fertility is the daughter of hus-  
 bandry: therefore was the goddess said to be ac-  
 companied by her daughter; *when the maiden*, fiction  
 calls her. ‘ But scarcely had she entered on her  
 ‘ progress, when this virgin daughter disappeared,  
 ‘ carried off, it was afterwards found, to the re-  
 ‘ gions below by the god of the invisible world.  
 ‘ Distracted at the loss, the goddess Ceres ranged  
 ‘ in search of her daughter from country to coun-  
 ‘ try, till informed at length to what place she had  
 ‘ been borne away, she applied herself for aid to  
 ‘ the Lord of Heaven, whose compromise with  
 ‘ his brother Pluto was, that the damsel should  
 ‘ continue six months of every year in the region  
 ‘ of darkness, provided that during the other six  
 ‘ she should have leave to revisit this upper world.’  
 The

The dreary appearance of the earth in the winter, B O O K  
and the succeeding vegetation of the gentler seasons, form an easy explanation of this allegory. I. Sect. I.

‘ After various adventures, and painful journies  
‘ through many savage countries, the goddess arrived at length on the borders of Attica, or Ionia, as it was then named. And here indeed  
‘ she met with entertainment very different from  
‘ what she had hitherto found. The prince of  
‘ Eleusis, a small district in the neighbourhood of  
‘ Cecropia, received her under his own roof with  
‘ an hospitality, which she requited by taking his  
‘ son Triptolemus under her care, and instructing  
‘ him in the mysteries of agriculture. As soon as  
‘ the young prince had made a sufficient progress  
‘ in this valuable science, placing him in a chariot  
‘ drawn by flying dragons, she commissioned him  
‘ to go round the world, in order to communicate  
‘ the blessing to the several nations of the earth.’

THE small portion of this account, which history has a right to claim, will fairly amount to this :  
‘ that Attica and the parts adjacent were the first  
‘ tracts of Greece, in which husbandry, though  
‘ possibly attempted in other cantons, was brought  
‘ to some degree of perfection, and in which the  
‘ shoutings of harvest were first heard.’

IN the same spirit of allegory, whatever inventions had contributed to the advancement of agriculture, or held affinity with it, were remembered by these Ionian Greeks under some emblematical representation, or gave rise to some typical festive procession. They had their feasts of *seed-time*, of *reaping*, of *harvest-home*, of the *threshing-floor*, of *boundaries and enclosures*, or as they termed it, the feast of *legislation*; in all which the allegorical personage of the goddess of harvest was the principal pageant. The last mentioned, the feast of *legislation*, deserves particular notice. Before the improvements

BOOK improvements of husbandry were known, lands

I. were without value, and unoccupied. Tillage  
 Sect. I. introduced other maxims. Called forth by cultivation, the glebe shewed its fertility; the cultivator claimed a property in what he had recovered from the barren common; divisions were made, and boundaries established. Hence, by a natural and expressive title, was the goddess of harvest distinguished in early time as the *institutress of laws* (*θεσμοφύξος*) and her feast was termed the feast of *legislation*, or of the *establishment of society*. And for a like reason, Triptolemus is recorded by some antient writers to have been the first lawgiver among the Greeks. To the father of husbandry it was natural to give the honour of being the first that had effectually reclaimed human kind from their primitive wildness, and laid the corner stone of the social fabric.

THE veneration paid by the infancy of Greece to agriculture extended to the very beast that had laboured, and the very ground which had been employed, in the first works of husbandry. The ox, that drew the plough, was pronounced holy: it had been an impiety to have killed him. The field of Rharium near Eleufis, from which the first barley had been gathered, was held in such estimation, that the grain which grew on it was accounted sacred, and was to be used only in religious offerings. Even the threshing-floor shared in these honours: the *holy threshing-floor* Homer himself calls it.

BUT of all the solemnities to which the introduction of tillage gave rise in Greece, the most celebrated by far were the Eleusinian mysteries, so named from the district where this art was said to have had its beginning, and which, in memory of that, became the scene of the great festival of husbandry. There, by the testimony of antiquity,  
 the



the whole process of agriculture, the history of its Book  
 establishment, the wretched state of mankind be- I.  
 fore they obtained the knowledge of it, were ex- Sect. 1.  
 hibited in the most pompous manner under sensible  
 forms and symbols. The evil was, the allegorical  
 personages, which were introduced on these occa-  
 sions, were in a short time mistaken by the people  
 for real divinities, and became the objects of nati-  
 onal worship. In Egypt, where these phantoms  
 had first been exhibited in their religious ceremo-  
 nies, the improper application of them is matter  
 of notoriety in the history of that antient nation.  
 With the Greeks, a people of a more active and  
 vigorous imagination, the mischief reached far-  
 ther. Not only the emblematic figures of the  
 Eleusinian mysteries became to them real gods, but  
 carried away by the contagion of these fancy-mov-  
 ing shews, they had soon learned to translate the  
 whole creation into allegory, insomuch that nei-  
 ther hill nor dale, neither stream nor spring offered  
 itself to view, from which some divinity was not  
 imagined to arise. This accounts for what old  
 Hesiod teaches, that in his days the gods of Greece  
 already amounted to thirty thousand.

It is indeed very possible, that the original de-  
 sign, as well of the Eleusinian as of the Egyptian  
 mysteries, might have been innocent; to divert  
 the tired peasantry at the close of the harvest-sea-  
 son, and perhaps to engage the affection of the half-  
 civilized tribes to these novel works of the field  
 by annual festive meetings and pageant exhibiti-  
 ons; at the same time to impress them with religious  
 reverence for labours, which they were taught to  
 look upon as honoured with the express sanction  
 of heaven. It may be too, that, in the more art-  
 less ages, what the several personages represented  
 was at the conclusion of the shew faithfully ex-  
 plained to the spectators. But by degrees the  
 priest

**B**OOK priest grew more subtil, and a myſtical veil covered

I. all. In the greater Eleuſinian myſteries, it has  
 Sect. 1. indeed been pretended, that the initiated enjoyed  
 the privilege of having the grand ſecret diſcloſed to  
 them, and of ſeeing thoſe divinities brought down,  
 from the pageant character they bore in public, to  
 their true ſtation of *natural things* or *human arts*.  
 This nevertheless could not do much. The pagan  
 writers themſelves confeſs, that few only, and  
 thoſe not till after the moſt jealous precautions,  
 could obtain admittance to the greater myſteries.  
 And even with reſpect to that ſmall number, we  
 may fairly ſuppoſe, that the Hierophantes, or  
 maſter of the ſacred pomp, to whom the unveiling  
 belonged, had cunning enough to remove the co-  
 vering in ſuch a manner, that too large a portion  
 of information ſhould not be had.

WHETHER the glory of having introduced agri-  
 culture into Greece belongs of right to Triptole-  
 mus or to Erechtheus, is not a queſtion of mo-  
 ment. Some of the antient writers have aſcribed  
 it to the one, ſome to the other. It is eaſy to re-  
 concile theſe two accounts. The Eleuſinian diſ-  
 trict bordered on the Cecropian or Athenian ter-  
 ritories. Whiſt therefore the Eleuſinian improver  
 was promoting the knowledge of huſbandry among  
 the people of Eleuſis, Erechtheus was encouraging  
 the ſame rural works throughout his dominions :  
 and probably the credit of the invention was  
 claimed by them both. There is reaſon to ſuſpect,  
 that Erechtheus was jealous of Eleuſis, and reſented  
 that the firſt temple to the goddeſs of harveſts was  
 erected there ; for it appears from Pausanias, that  
 he made war on the Eleuſinians. But whatever  
 his jealousy might prompt him to wiſh, his wiſhes  
 were in vain. To the laſt days of paganiſm, the  
 temple of Eleuſis enjoyed the privilege of being  
 ſacred

sacred to the mysteries of agriculture beyond any **Book**  
other place of the whole heathen world. **I.**

**TOGETHER** with the benefits of tillage, most of **Se&t. 1.**  
the arts of prime necessity, and even several of  
those of convenience, seem to have made their way  
about this time into Attica and the settlements  
adjacent. The culture of the fig-tree, which the  
fabulists expressly mention as the gift of the god-  
dess of harvests to mankind, the culture of the  
olive, and the use of the oil-press, began to be  
known. Vines were planted, and wines made.  
The fleece was wrought into cloathing for the ser-  
vice of man; and the works of the distaff and loom,  
which soon after we find were the employment,  
and (such was the happy simplicity of those antient  
days!) the pride of every Grecian dame, grew  
into practice. For so the feast of vintage, the ex-  
hibiting of figs in the sacred processions, and the  
several rites of Minerva under the various charac-  
ters of the *giver of the olive*, the *industrious*, the  
goddess of *the distaff*, *spindle*, and *loom*, which  
appear to have had their beginning at this time  
and in this part of Greece, plainly say. And  
thence did Minerva, the goddess of industrious  
arts, become the tutelary deity of the Athenian  
people, giving her own (Grecian) name *Athena* to  
the city which before had from Cecrops been de-  
nominated Cecropia. Their claiming so especially  
the protection of that goddess is argument unde-  
niable of their acquaintance with the several im-  
provements, of which fable made her the patro-  
ness.

**THE** many valuable acquisitions obtained to  
Athens during the reign of Erectheus caused his  
memory to be held in lasting honour among the  
tribes of Attica, so that he has been considered as  
one of the founders of the Athenian people; and  
accordingly the land of Erectheus, the people of  
Erectheus,



**B o o k** Erechtheus, are appellations which Attica and her  
**I.** people frequently bear in antient story. The con-  
**Sect. 1.** trast, that followed upon the death of this excel-  
 lent king, was calculated to render the memory  
 of his reign still dearer to the Athenians. His  
 sons disputed the kingdom the one with the other,  
 and involved Athens in deadly feuds, which did  
 not end before the accession of Theseus.

To the northwest of Athens stood Thebes. The  
 uncouth fables which darken the origin and early  
 fortunes of this antient kingdom sufficiently tell,  
 what the barbarous state of the native tribes of  
 this part of Greece must have been, when civili-  
 zation first made its way among them. From fa-  
 cred history we may borrow some light, to guide  
 us through these regions of fiction.

**ABOUT** eighty years after the arrival of the  
 Egyptians in Greece, whilst Erechtheus ruled at  
 Athens, certain bands of Phœnicians or Edomites  
 landed on the Grecian coast. A revolution at  
 home had occasioned their emigration. Of these  
 adventurers a considerable party, advancing into  
 the heart of the country in search of a settlement,  
 were at length tempted by the fairness of its pas-  
 turages to seat themselves in a district, to which  
 it is probable they themselves gave the proper  
 name of Bœotia, that is to say, the land of heifers.  
 They appear to have been a people highly improv-  
 ed, and in many respects far superior to the colonists  
 from Egypt. By their situation on the Arabic  
 gulph (otherwise the Red Sea, or Sea of Edom)  
 they had of old been put in possession of an exten-  
 sive commerce, and were familiar with the several  
 arts of use to a mercantile nation, manual trades,  
 astronomy, navigation, as far as they were ad-  
 vanced in those early days. Their guilt was, that  
 they had departed from the religion of Abraham  
 their great ancestor, not only worshipping the hea-  
 venty

heavenly bodies (which seems to have been the **Book** prime idolatry of the world) but also paying divine **I.** honours to dead men, after the example of the na- **Sect. 1.** tions around them. Provoked by their idolatrous manners, or jealous of their naval strength, and of the important aid which his enemies derived from them, David king of Israel, in the fifteenth **Bef. Christ** year of his reign, carried his arms into Idumæa, **1040.** and conquered it; which caused a number of the Edomites, with several of the bordering Arabians nearly connected in interests with Edom, to disperse into different countries.

THIS dispersion was shortly after followed by a second. A large swarm of the fugitives, spreading themselves along the coasts of Sidon, got possession of that city, and dislodged the major part of the old inhabitants, who escaped in their ships, some to the lower Asia, some to Greece and the Grecian islands.

AN encrease of population was among the smallest benefits Greece derived from these new colonies. Wherever they settled, they diffused instruction, civility, and industry. From a long intercourse with Egypt, they had learned all the wisdom of the Egyptians: from their voyages, whether on the Eastern seas, as was the practice of the Edomites, or on the Mediterranean, as was that of the Sidonians, they had attained to all the advantages which a commercial life generally gives, more enlarged notions of things, a more equal distribution of knowledge, a liberality of mind that led them to communicate what they had observed. And, which was the most important of all, they gave to Greece a written language. Instead of the enigmatical allusions employed by the Egyptians, which (especially to a rude, unformed people) were always obscure, and often equivocal, they instructed the Grecian tribes in the use of

VOL. I. C characters

**B o o k** characters of a determinate signification. It ap-

I. appears from respectable monuments, that to them  
 Sect. 1. is due the antient and primary Greek alphabet; that the letters of which it was composed bear a near resemblance in shape and power to the characters in use among the Phœnicians, Arabs, and Hebrews, whose several dialects, however they may have differed since the days of Ezra, appear to have been originally cognate, and were probably provincial modes of the same language; lastly, that from this Greek alphabet were afterwards borrowed the Etruscan letters, which the Grecian colonists brought with them into Italy, and which gave birth to the more elegant forms adopted by the Latins. So that to this Idumæan dispersion not only the learned languages of Greece and Italy are essentially indebted for their improvement, but almost all the literary possessions of the modern European world owe their first beginning.

THE lettered arts which the Idumæans introduced were not confined to Bœotia, but found a speedy and welcome reception throughout the different Grecian settlements. The attention of these eastern adventurers seems nevertheless to have been employed principally in their Theban establishment. They called in the wild natives from their forests and caverns; taught them to plough and sow, to build and plant; instructed them in the nature of copper-ore, of which the Iœotian hills furnished plenty, and shewed them how to fabricate brass, the metal chiefly in use among the antient inhabitants of Greece. And to protect them from the inroads of enemies, they erected a citadel of considerable strength. Few of the Grecian states are more slenderly provided with authentic monuments of their own early times than the Thebans: it is however worthy.



thy of remark, that the citadel of Thebes retained the name of Cadmea, or the citadel of the eastern men, for ages after; and Cadmeia, the metal of the eastern men, is the Greek name for copper-ore to this day. B o o k I. Sect. 1.

SUCH are the imperfect notices of the rise of the Theban people, which either the sacred records of truth supply, or which may be collected from the hints occasionally thrown out by some of the most judicious Grecian writers. The annals of the Thebans themselves present us with a history of a very different kind.

ACCORDING to them, the founder of Thebes, Cadmus they call him, was son to the king of Phœnicia, and had been sent abroad by his royal father with orders not to return till he had found his sister Europa, whom, as she was sporting herself with her maidens on the Phœnician shore, a bull of remarkable beauty had carried off on his back, swimming away with her to some unknown land. After much fruitless labour, the young prince, afraid to return into his father's presence, resolved to try his fortune in Greece, and was by an oracle directed, together with the few attendants he had, into Bœotia. His first adventure there was very unfortunate. His companions, who had gone in quest of fresh water, staying long, he went to look for them, when he had the mortification to find they had been all slain by a serpent of enormous size, that guarded the spring where they sought to slake their thirst. The hero revenged their death by killing the serpent; after which he remained lonely and disconsolate, till he was relieved from his distress by the appearance of a goddess, who commanded him to take the teeth of the serpent he had slain, and to sow them in the earth. From this extraordinary seed immediately arose a crop of armed men, who attacked and slew

**B**OOK each other, until, five only remaining, they agreed

**I.** to lay down their arms, and became assistant to  
**Sect. 1.** Cadmus in founding his Theban city. The valour and enterprising spirit of the young prince did not go unrewarded: the gods bestowed on him in marriage the fair Hermione, daughter of the god of war by the goddess of beauty, with whom he reigned many years in great prosperity, blessed with a numerous offspring. But he had not fulfilled his destiny. In the decline of their life, Hermione and he were commanded by an oracle to retire from Bœotia into Illyricum, where some time after they were both changed into serpents.

THE adventures of most of his posterity are set forth in the same romantic dress. One of his daughters, Ino, pursued to the sea-side by her husband, whom her cruelties to his children by a former marriage had exasperated, leaped into the waves, and was made a sea-goddess. Semele, another of them, perished in the embraces of Jupiter, who in compliance with her ambitious request had come to visit her, arrayed in the splendors of his deity, thunder and lightning. She was pregnant at the time of her death: the infant (wonderful to relate!) was taken out alive, and enclosed in Jupiter's thigh, whence he was brought forth in due season, to become the Grecian Bacchus. The cultivation of the vine by some of the Cadmean race, and the consequent introduction of the worship of the god of vintage, seem to have given rise to part of this awkward fiction. Actæon, grandson to Cadmus, accidentally looking on Diana when bathing, was by the goddess changed into a stag, run down, and destroyed by his own hounds. Another of his grandsons, Pentheus, opposed the celebration of the revels of the god of wine; an impiety which the offended god revenged by inflaming Agave, the mother of Pentheus, and her  
 sister-

sister-bacchanals, in a fit of frenzy to tear him to pieces. B o o k  
I.

POLYDORUS succeeded to the Theban throne in Sect. 1. the place of his father Cadmus, and left his crown to his son Labdacus. The reigns of these two princes, who died young, afforded little matter to fable, which however appears to have made itself full amends in the fortunes of Laius and his posterity. Left an infant by his father Labdacus, and before he had arrived to manhood, Laius was stripped of his kingdom by Amphion, to whom, though a lawless usurper, the Thebans, it seems, owed more than to any of their princes. Amphion excelled on the lyre, an instrument he had received from the hand of Mercury the god of eloquence; and such was the commanding power of his music, that brute creatures, nay and the very stones, followed as he played. He employed his skill in favour of Thebes, at that time open and defenceless, and caused the stones to form around it into walls and battlements. It is well known, that in antient story the power of music is often used to express the power of eloquence, which (besides the aptness of the allusion) always in early ages borrowed the aids of music and song. Whatever interpretation therefore the fiction may receive, whether we are to understand from it that Amphion by his talent of persuasion prevailed on the Thebans to secure their city against insult, or whether it shall only mean that he improved their manners, and taught them to conform to the arrangements of civil life, in either sense he certainly advanced the prosperity of the Theban people.

HOWEVER, Amphion and his whole family having been swept away by a pestilence, Laius returned; and with him calamity, the faithful attendant of the house of Cadmus, returned also. Scarcely had he got possession of the throne, when he was warned by the Delphic oracle, that the child



**B o o k** child with which his wife Jocasta was then preg-

**I.**      nant was destined to kill his father, and to com-  
**Sect. 1.** mit incest with his mother. Terrified at this den-  
 unciation, he gave orders that the child, as soon  
 as born, should be put to death. The compassion  
 of the person to whom the commission was entrusted  
 saved the infant, the famed Œdipus: he con-  
 tented himself with exposing the child on mount  
 Cithæron, where certain shepherds, servants to  
 the king of Corinth, having found him, brought  
 him to their master, by whom, as he was child-  
 less himself, the present was received with joy, and  
 educated as a son. After various adventures, at  
 length the unhappy prince but too exactly com-  
 pleted the fatal oracle. Meeting, without knowing,  
 his father Laius on the way to Delphi, a fray en-  
 sued at a narrow pass, and he slew him. The va-  
 cant throne of Thebes, with the queen's hand, was  
 offered to the person who should be fortunate  
 enough to relieve the Thebans from a monster  
 which then infested their country. Œdipus ac-  
 cepted of the enterprise, baffled and destroyed the  
 Sphinx, and was rewarded with the marriage of  
 Jocasta and the Theban kingdom.

THIS well known story, which the art of the  
 inimitable Sophocles has rendered deeply interest-  
 ing, we shall have occasion to mention again. It  
 is sufficient to observe here, that though the poste-  
 rity of Cadmus subsisted for some generations after  
 Œdipus, yet they all at last, if we are to believe  
 the Grecian writers, perished miserably, ‘ the god-  
 ‘ des of divine vengeance,’ says Pausanias, ‘ pur-  
 ‘ suing with indefatigable fury the blood of Œdi-  
 ‘ pus and Laius.’

AMIDST this strange medley of facts and ficti-  
 ons, where at every step we go some dark fable  
 comes across us, it is difficult to say how the histo-  
 rian shall proceed. Even the story of Laius, the  
 oracular

oracular warning he received, his fruitless endeavours to evade a destiny which at last overtook him in so extraordinary a manner, are events recorded indeed by some of the most respectable Grecian authorities, yet not the more likely to obtain credit with the judicious reader. To the Bœotian character, perhaps, are many of these wondrous tales to be imputed. It was laid to the charge of the Bœotian people, even in their better days, that they did not exceed in acuteness. And it need not be said, how daring the exertions of superstition have always been, if encouraged by credulity and ignorance. B o o k I. Sect. 1.

THE early history of Crete presents us with a contrast still more amazing than the romantic fortunes of Thebes. A survey of the political institutions of the Cretans tends to convey as strong a notion of the wisdom of that people, as on the other hand a view of their religious tenets betrays an abasement of mind, scarcely to be expected among untutored barbarians.

TEUTAMUS of Egypt is supposed to have been the first introducer of civilization into the Cretan island, the haunt, before his days, of a few savages, and overgrown with woods. His companions, who are thought to have been of the Egyptian order of priesthood, took up their dwelling on mount Ida, which soon grew into fame by means of the various arts and beneficial improvements of which these Egyptian sages gave the example. To Teutamus succeeded his son Cronos, who, in contempt of his father's injunctions, as well as of the admonitions of the wise men of Ida, is said to have adopted the horrid rite of human sacrifices, and to have attempted to offer up his own children. His violences, of whatever kind they were, provoked a formidable insurrection. He was ejected from the throne of Crete, to make room for

**B o o k** for his son Asterius, who had nearly been the victim of his father's superstition.

**Seçt. I.** O Asterius, from his infancy, the Idæan sages had fixed their attention : they had educated him within the sacred enclosure, their own residence ; they had formed him by their counsels, and furnished him with all the wisdom of which they were in possession. A fortunate incident contributed to establish the glory of a reign that opened with so flattering a promise. A party of the Idumæan adventurers landed on the Cretan coast. Asterius, aware of the benefits to be derived from the presence of these enlightened strangers, afforded them every encouragement, patronized the many useful inventions they brought with them, made it his study to unite into one people the different colonists with which Crete was now overspread, and as a pledge of regard to his new subjects, shared his bed and throne with Europa the daughter of one of their chieftains, whose cultivated understanding gave a prospect of the most solid advantages to his rising kingdom. His expectations were not frustrated. In the compass of a few years, the whole Cretan empire began to feel the blessings of civilization and good government : flourishing cities arose in every part of the island ; her naval strength was formidable ; and most of the neighbouring islands, which before had either none or barbarous inhabitants, stood indebted to Crete for protection as well as culture. Her influence extended even to the Grecian continent and the Asiatic shores. The first celebration of games on the banks of the Alpheus (the origin of the Olympic games) is attributed to some of her sages, who are supposed to have passed over into Elis. And the founding of the oracle of Delphi, in succeeding times the great object of pagan veneration, is said



said to have been the result of certain holy celebra- B o o k  
tions instituted there by a company from Ida. I.

After many days of great prosperity, Asterius Sect. 1.  
was succeeded by his son Minos. This prince came to the throne with all the advantages that portend an illustrious reign. His people were at peace; population and industry flourished throughout his territories; most of the neighbouring islands acknowledged subjection to him; an useful intercourse had been opened with the continents of Europe and Asia; and the adjoining seas were covered with his numerous fleets. The only dangers Crete had to fear were, what the treacherous influence of prosperity is accustomed to bring on. Asterius had endeavoured to guard against them by many provident institutions. Minos improved the plan. He compiled a body of laws, which, whether the result of his own observations, or framed, as there is reason to conjecture, from the instructions of the wise men of Ida, are celebrated in antient story under the name of the Laws of Minos. What these several laws were, cannot now precisely be said, the vicissitudes of human things having long since destroyed all remains of Crete's antient glory. A general idea of them may be had from the fragments, which the Grecian writers have preserved to us.

THE government was regal. But together with the king were appointed ten Cosmi or guardians of the people, elected annually, and a council of twenty-eight old men, who were chosen for life: and to this body of magistracy was the administration of public affairs committed. At so early a period does the limiting of the royal authority appear to have been the favourite of Greece. It is not improbable, that the oppressions of despotism, which the Asiatic and Egyptian colonists had experienced at home, might have raised in them  
such

Β ο ο κ such a jealousy of the kingly power, as made it

I. prudent for the Cretan legislator to soften it into  
Sect. 1. this milder aspect. From two remarkable laws it seems however, as if Minos had been also apprehensive of the inconveniencies, which too high a spirit of liberty might produce. By one of these laws, ‘ professional orators were not to have admission into Crete.’ The other enacted, ‘ that young men should not presume to move any question concerning the constitution of their country ; and if an old man observed any matter which he might think required alteration, he was to mention it only to a magistrate, or some of the venerable twenty-eight, taking heed that none of the younger folk were present.’ These two laws need no comment : they may stand as monuments of the sagacity of those remote ages.

BUT the great object of the laws of Minos was the forming of the national manners. At the age of seven he directed that the children should be removed from under the care of their parents, should be ranged into companies, and have their education in common. Their meals were eaten in public, and like their garments, were coarse and frugal. They were trained to activity and swiftness, enured to the toils and dangers of the chase, taught to bear cold, heat, thirst and hunger, to hurl the javelin, to wield the falchion, to bend the bow. Their very recreations were of the stern military cast : in their dances, which they performed in armour, they imitated the movements and evolutions of armies in battle ; they were taught, by way of sport, to make frequent trial of their strength and courage, one against the other, with fist, club, or weapon of war, whilst some of their companions played a kind of martial music to inspirit the little combatants. Care was taken also, that the very language of their ordinary discourse

course should be void of ornament, but short and **Book**  
expressive. And the only mental accomplish- **I.**  
ments permitted to them were, to get by heart the **Sect. 1.**  
laws of their country, composed, according to the  
manner of those early days, in verse, and to cele-  
brate with lyre and song the praises of the gods  
and the exploits of warlike men. Neither was the  
attention of the laws confined to their boyish years.  
At the age of seventeen they passed into the class of  
young men; but the same form of discipline, with  
very little variation, was continued and extended  
through the whole term of manhood: so that the  
Cretan life, in every stage of it, was in the inten-  
tion of its modeller to be a life of austerity and se-  
vere observance.

A PLAN of legislation, which in so many in-  
stances did violence to the human heart, could  
hardly fail of provoking much contradiction. Mi-  
nos accordingly, we are told, found it necessary to  
call in religion to his aid. He feigned, that these  
laws had their origin in heaven, whence they had  
been delivered to him by Jupiter himself; to  
strengthen which deception, every ninth year it  
was his custom to retire during a number of days  
to a certain cave in the neighbourhood of Gnosus  
his royal city, there, as he pretended, to hold  
conferences with the god, and by him to be in-  
structed how to perfect and establish the ordinan-  
ces he had given him. For the better promulga-  
tion of these, Minos commanded them to be en-  
graved on tablets of brass, and thrice every year  
sent out Talus, one of his chief ministers, on a  
progress through Crete, to expound his laws to  
the people, and enforce obedience to them. This  
Talus, perhaps from the circumstance of the bra-  
zen tables committed to his custody, is said to have  
been a man composed of brass, miraculously en-  
dowed by Jupiter with the powers of thought and  
motion,



BOOK motion, and appointed to guard his favourite  
 I. island. The legend serves at least to shew, how  
 Sect. 1. easily in those days of fable the strangest fiction obtained admittance for truth.

To what measure of praise Minos may be entitled, is not now the question. His laws certainly were in high estimation among the pagan nations. Both Plato and Aristotle, in whose time they had been approved by the experience of ages, pronounce them excellent; and Lycurgus, the illustrious lawgiver of Sparta, did not disdain to make them his model. But whatever opinion may be entertained of this Cretan king, whether we see in him the patron of virtue, and friend of human happiness; or whether we are to suppose (what indeed seems to be nearer to truth) that he was a prince of aspiring views and great reach of thought, who in the hope of subjecting to himself the several states around him, and stretching his dominion over Greece and the Grecian islands; devised a well concerted plan of moulding the Cretans into a martial people; whichever of these suppositions we choose to adopt, the history of Minos and his laws still throws an important light on the transactions of that very distant age, and confirms strongly what antient writers have observed, that to colonies from Egypt and Asia Greece stands indebted for her first acquaintance with civility and culture. The very spirit of these admirable laws proves undeniably, that this could not have been the wisdom of a land barbarous, or just emerged out of barbarity, as Crete then was. So much political acuteness and deep insight into human nature must have been the growth of countries, where the improvements of social life, together with the forms of legal establishments, had long been known.

THE

THE laws of Minos, those particularly which **Book** had the public manners for their object, preserved I. their influence in Crete, and secured to it prosper- **Señ. 1.** ity and freedom, during a lapse of many ages. Indeed such was the martial ability which the Cretans derived from these institutions, that at the distance of four hundred years from their first establishment, the Romans themselves, in the meridian of their power, found it difficult to contend with that spirited people, over whom they obtained at last an inglorious, if not a reproachful victory.

BUT however in Minos we may admire the legislator, we cannot with the same complacency consider his religious system. It is past controversy, that the royal house of Crete has the guilt of having given to Greece many of her grossest superstitions. The principal deities of the Grecian ritual had avowedly their birth in Crete; and their very sovereign, the Grecian Jupiter, is allowed by their fabulous writers to have sat on the Cretan throne, before he ascended that of Olympus. The birth, education, and fortunes of this extraordinary personage, which accordingly appear to have been for the most part of Cretan invention, form a collection of absurdities, the most uncouth to be met with in the records of paganism. At his birth, his father Cronos would have devoured him. This Cronos had dethroned his own father; and instructed by his conscious fears, or threatened by some oracle, that his son should likewise dethrone him, he resolved to destroy the new-born infant. The mother, Ops or Rhea, saved the child. She substituted a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which she gave to Cronos to swallow, but conveyed away the infant to the sages of mount Ida, by whom he was concealed in a cave, where a goat suckled him, or according to others, bees fed him with their honey.

CICERO,

BOOK CICERO, who seems often to have blushed at

I. the religion of his country, endeavours by a philosophical solution to explain away somewhat of the absurdity of this antient fiction. With him, this awkward tale is only an ingenious allegory. Cronos is the emblem of time, or more properly, of that unmeasured duration which preceded the formation of the heavenly luminaries; and by Jupiter is meant the supreme orderer of the universe. ‘Before creation was,’ saith the Roman philosopher, ‘ere the circuit of the heavens was established, duration flowed away unperceived, and was swallowed up in the unfathomable gulph of Chaos; but when Jupiter had once ordained the circumvolution of the celestial orbs, then no longer did Cronos devour his progeny, the ages were numbered, and time (*χρόνος*) was intertwined in the ligatures of the heavenly bodies.’ These mythological refinements are the language of later ages: the early Greeks, ignorant and artless, were strangers to them. What the fabulists relate of the preservation of Rhea’s infant son seems rather to indicate, as we have already said, that Cronos was guilty of human sacrifices, and that the fages of Ida reprobated the impious practice. Compelled by the abhorrence of his subjects to abdicate his kingdom in favour of his son Asterius, Cronos is said to have fled into Italy, where on account of the many improvements he brought with him from Crete, he was held in grateful remembrance for ages after, under the name of Saturn. The character of Saturn in the pagan mythology confirms the suspicion, that Cronos had adopted the barbarous rite of human victims.

THE reign of Asterius was, as we have seen, a reign of great prosperity. He extended civilization throughout his whole empire, and according to the Cretan records, obtained a complete victory over



over the Titans, a formidable faction in the inter-  
 rests of Cronos, who held possession of a part of  
 the kingdom, and like their leader, were addicted  
 to human sacrifices. These important benefits not  
 only endeared Asterius to his people, but advanced  
 him after death to divine honours. Fable assigned  
 to him the throne of heaven, with the awful title  
 of Sovereign Lord of gods and men. His brother,  
 who had superintended his naval operations, was  
 made god of the sea by the name of Poseidon, the  
 Neptune of Latium. And Pluto, his other bro-  
 ther (probably because he died young) had the  
 kingdom of Hades, or the invisible world, com-  
 mitted to him, and was supposed to reign over  
 the regions of death. Minos himself had his por-  
 tion of honour. He had given laws to men on  
 earth : fiction invested him with the dignity of su-  
 preme judge of departed spirits. Neither was  
 Europa forgotten in the system of adulation.  
 Seated on the heavenly throne along with Asterius,  
 she had her worshippers in every part of the gentile  
 world, being called by the Greeks *HEPA* or the La-  
 dy, by the Latins, Juno.

THESE wild flights of imagination, strange as  
 they may appear, are easily accounted for. The  
 deifying of dead men had, some ages before, been  
 introduced by the Canaanitish emigrants into se-  
 veral parts of Egypt, from which country the Cu-  
 retes are supposed to have come. To these men of  
 Ida, besides, it brought at once a gratification of  
 pride and an important encrease of influence, to  
 have those princes, whom they were known to  
 have assisted with their counsels, advanced to the  
 rank of gods. At the same time, the gross igno-  
 rance of the Cretan people encouraged the illusion.  
 Prompted by nature to acknowledge a Supreme  
 Being, and incapable from their uninstructed state  
 of forming proper notions concerning Him, they  
 greedily

**BOOK** greedily took in every monstrous legend that imposture offered to them. The policy of the Cretan princes contributed also to ratify the fraud. **I.** Minos particularly, the son and successor of Asterius, appears to have thought it his interest to be reputed the offspring of a god, with whom he had an intercourse, and who directed his plan of government.

How it came to pass, that the Cretan Asterius obtained the high rank he holds among the pagan divinities, and was advanced to the supremacy of heaven, is a question of no great difficulty. To his having been the first of the Grecian princes that was deified, the distinction may have been due; or perhaps, to his having been the most powerful Grecian prince of his time, sovereign not only of Crete, but of the isles adjoining, and even of a large portion of the southern continent of Greece, which in early times appears to have been in subjection to the Cretan king: the same subordination, that subsisted among the gods of paganism in their earthly fortunes, having been generally preserved in their deified state. The like homage therefore, as had been paid to Asterius whilst on the Cretan throne, Crete required her subject nations to pay to him, when she had placed him in her temples; and the supreme lord of the Cretan empire became the supreme god of the Grecian world.

It is however exceedingly remarkable, that as soon as fable had seated Asterius on the throne of heaven, we gradually lose sight of his mortal character: he is thenceforth considered as the representative of the divine nature and supreme mind, and all the exalted attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness, which belong to the Most High, do we find him invested with. A strong proof, that the mind of man is naturally led to ascribe every excellence

cellence to the Supreme Governor of all, and that **Book**  
 even the deceits of paganism, though they might **I.**  
 obscure, could never totally obliterate the heaven- **Sect. 1.**  
 taught lesson.

WE are however to remember, that the domestic history of the Jupiter of Crete does not in any degree apply to the several Jupiters of whom the pagan legends make mention. Among the Grecian tribes which did not bow to the power of Crete, the practice grew common in process of time, to have, each of them, a Jupiter of their own. And both in the European and Asiatic Greece, as despotism gained ground, every prince, who by his martial prowess or the beneficence of his sway had contributed to the national glory or happiness, generally received, whether from adulation or from gratitude, the like idolatrous tribute, and became the Jupiter of his people.

THE other Grecian states were yet in their infancy. Various causes had contributed to impede their progress. Of the several principalities which had arisen in different parts of Greece, the greater number, inconsiderable in extent, and thinly provided with inhabitants, were neither capable of forming enlarged schemes, nor, if formed, of carrying them into execution. A kingdom in those early days often consisted of a single town, with the narrow strip of territory that surrounded it: and scarcely was there a plantation, of which the chieftain did not lay claim to sovereignty. Hence the many Grecian kingdoms mentioned by antient writers, which in some generations after are no longer to be found. So low down as the siege of Troy, Thessaly found room for nine kingdoms. And in Peloponnesus alone reigned thirty princes at one time. These principalities, however small, were, besides, all independent principalities, not strengthened by any communication with each other,



**BOOK** or any interchange of information or good offices ;

**I.** every chieftain, in the pride of royalty, beholding  
**SECT. I.** the several chieftains around him with contempt or  
 with jealousy. Had they even been disposed to  
 adopt a more liberal policy, Greece in those days  
 knew not what a road was ; the line of intercourse  
 lay across pathless wilds, and formidable were  
 the dangers to be encountered by the adventurous  
 traveller : the exploits recorded of Theseus and  
 the heroes of his time prove it abundantly. Other  
 cares also of the most urgent nature left these petty  
 states no leisure for improvement. They had not  
 sustenance only, but self-defence, to provide for.  
 Rescued from the forest, their little territories  
 were encompassed with woodland, which still oc-  
 cupied a large portion of the country, the haunt  
 of wild beasts and unreclaimed savages, to whom  
 every plantation was an object of prey, and against  
 whom every fence that the hand of industry could  
 raise was a precarious protection.

IN addition to those ills, these petty kingdoms  
 were often overset by hostile irruption. Several  
 of the princes of the house of Deucalion, who had  
 sat down in the northern provinces of Greece, dis-  
 satisfied with their situation, moved on southward.  
 Athamas, great grandson to Deucalion, entered  
 Bœotia, where he possessed himself of part of the  
 kingdom of Orchomenos. Endymion, another of  
 his descendants, passed over into Ægialea, known  
 afterwards by the name of Peloponnesus, and hav-  
 ing dethroned Clymenus, one of the disciples of  
 the sages of mount Ida, reigned in Elis. Endy-  
 mion's amorous intercourses with the Moon have  
 given to this prince a distinguished place in the  
 poetic annals. Reduced to plain history, the fa-  
 ble only says, that these early colonists were not  
 unacquainted with astronomical observations, and  
 that

that to this valuable branch of science Endymion B o o k  
 often dedicated his nightly hours. Salmoneus I.  
 likewise, a prince of the same family, quitting Sect. 1.  
 Hellas, founded a city on the west coast of Ægia-  
 lea near the Elean borders. The mad attempt of  
 this impious prince to imitate the thunder of Jupi-  
 ter, and the punishment of his presumption by the  
 real bolt of the incensed deity, is a story well  
 known to the classic reader. Whatever was the  
 particular fate of Salmoneus, the example of these  
 adventuring leaders was followed by other princes  
 of the race of Deucalion; and to two of these the  
 kingdoms of Corinth and of Pylus (Nestor's royal  
 seat) owe their beginning; the last founded by Ne-  
 leus, brother to Pelias and father to Nestor, the  
 other by Sisyphus, son to Æolus, grandson of Deu-  
 calion. Meanwhile, other adventurers from abroad  
 poured in also, some from the countries to the  
 north of Thessaly, some from Asia, some from  
 Egypt; whilst the numerous rovers, who had now  
 begun to insult the Grecian coasts, made inroads  
 into the country, spreading devastation wherever  
 they came. In this manner were most of the early  
 kingdoms, particularly those in the south of  
 Greece, overthrown, or transferred to new posses-  
 sors. And thus Orithya, an Athenian princess,  
 was carried off by plunderers from Thrace; and  
 Io, daughter to the king of Argos, by corsairs  
 from Egypt.

ACCORDINGLY the records of these antient  
 states, of which Greece made her boast, when  
 they are brought down to the scale of history, ex-  
 hibit little more than a confused account of the tu-  
 multuary skirmishes, predatory incursions, and  
 bold forest-achievements, which occupied the ac-  
 tivity of the several Grecian tribes during that  
 dark period. Even with relation to the nobler ex-  
 ploits of those early worthies, whom the poets of

BOOK this country have so delighted to celebrate, the an-

I. nals of their glory will be found to consist principally in clearing the woods of some wild beast, or expelling from his strong hold some ravager, the terror of the hamlets around.

To the pride of Greece however it had been too mortifying, had her history been disgraced with a bare recital of events, which so fully attest the humility of her early fortunes. Hence the aids of fiction have been called in to give dignity to the several occurrences of those heroic times, and the most trivial adventure stands honoured with the intervention of some deity. If Orithya was carried off, it was the god of the northwind, enamoured of her beauty, that bore her away. If Io suffered violence, Jupiter himself was the ravisher. Even the sports of the chase were rendered important by the interest which the gods took in them: and the death of the Calydonian boar, a mere rural exploit, if divested of the ornaments of fable, has been made to hold a distinguished place in the Grecian records.

THIS fragment of Calydonian history may not improperly find admission here, as it delineates strongly the manners and love of fable of those remote ages, and is besides rendered valuable, inasmuch as we have a considerable part of it on the authority of Homer himself

WESTWARD of the bay of Corinth, bordering on the Ionian sea, lay Ætolia, a district of which formed the little kingdom of Calydon. Æneus, who reigned over it, had, it seems, provoked the anger of Diana the goddess of the forests, by forgetting, at the annual feast of first-fruits, to honour her with the due sacrifices; and in revenge, the goddess had sent a boar of uncommon size and fierceness to spread terror throughout Calydon. At the earnest entreaties of the Calydonian king, the



the princes of Ætolia and other countries adjacent assembled to clear the fields of this mighty ravager; when after a difficult and dangerous chase, which proved fatal to some of the gallant huntsmen, the monster was at length brought to the ground. But the vengeance of Diana was not yet appeased. The goddesses excited among the chiefs a contention, to whom the honours of the chase, the head and hide of the boar, should belong. In the heat of this contest, Meleager, son to Æneus, exerting himself in favour of Atalanta, a beautiful young huntress of princely birth who had been the first to wound the boar, had the misfortune to slay his own uncle, brother to his mother Althæa. The enraged Althæa, as soon as she heard of the fatal deed, pronounced a curse upon her son.

SHORTLY after, the Calydonians found themselves engaged in a dangerous war. Certain of the neighbouring tribes (Curetes Homer calls them, probably a Cretan colony) claimed a share of the mighty prize, the honours of the late chase, and their suit being rejected, laid siege to Calydon, which was soon reduced to extremity, because Meleager, on whom the dependence of his countrymen lay, refused, through anger at his mother's imprecations, to oppose the enemy. In vain had all the honourable men of Calydon, in vain the aged Æneus, in vain had Althæa herself employed every solicitation to win his aid; when the entreaties of his wife Cleopatra effected what no one else could bring to pass: softened by her distress, the hero suppressed his resentment, rushed forth to the field of war, and saved Calydon.

THUS far Homer. The sequel of Meleager's story we are to gather from other fabulists. Not all his gallant achievements, nor even Althæa's repentance, could avert the dire effect of the maternal imprecation: it was recorded in the realms below;

**BOOK** below ; and the unhappy Meleager, pursued by

**I.** the vindictive furies, perished miserably. The  
**Sect. 1.** tale is embellished by other writers with this circumstance : that Althæa, at the time of Meleager's birth, had received from the hands of the Destinies (three sisters who preside over human fortunes) a billet which they told her should be coeval with her son ; as long as that remained entire, he was to live : in her passion of anger, Althæa cast the fatal billet into the flames, which being consumed, Meleager expired. Unable to survive him, Althæa and Cleopatra laid violent hands on themselves. The calamitous end of CENEUS himself completed the punishment of his offence : he died a wretched exile at Argos, to which he had fled for refuge after being driven from the throne of Calydon. Before his decease, his younger son Tydeus fell in the Theban war ; and his daughter Deianira, whom Hercules had wedded, in a fit of jealousy wrought the destruction of her husband, and repenting of the deed, killed herself.

THE obscurity, which the ornaments of fable have spread over this portion of the Calydonian annals, will be found to affect, more or less, whatever accounts are to be had of the antient heroes of Greece. The histories of Perseus and Bellerophon, two of the most renowned of these, afford striking instances of it.

PERSEUS was grandson to Acrisius king of Argos. This prince, to whom the oracle had announced that he was destined to be slain by the hand of his grandson, sought to avert his fate by shutting up his daughter Danae from all intercourse with mankind, confined in a tower, whose walls (say the poets, to impress us with an idea of their impregnable strength) were of brass. The precaution, however, proved fruitless. Jupiter fell in love with the young princess, and found  
means

means to obtain access to her, disguised under the **B o o k**  
powerful form of a shower of gold, the fruit of **I.**  
which interview was Perseus. Acrisius, under **Sect. I.**  
the double impulse of resentment and fear, immediately on the delivery of his daughter, commanded her to be enclosed in a chest with her infant son, and cast into the sea. The waves however bore them safe to the shores of the little island Seriphus (one of the many that overspread the Ægean sea) the king of which island received them both into his protection, and kept them till Perseus was of years to attempt perilous adventures. That period being arrived, the hero set off from Seriphus, furnished, says the fable, with armour given him by the gods themselves. From the dextrous Mercury, patron of athletic sports, he received a falchion, whose edge was irresistible: Minerva, the goddess of wise counsels, supplied him with a shield; and the monarch of the regions of darkness, Pluto presented him with a helmet, which rendered the wearer invisible. Some of the poets add, that the nymphs also enabled him to make his way, when necessary, through the air, by wings affixed to the young champion's feet. His first enterprise was an attack on the Gorgades, islands on the African coast, subject to three sisters called the Gorgons, the issue of a sea-god, famed for their power, treasures, and terrible appearance. From the time of their birth, their faces had been impressed with the furrows of age; their teeth equalled in length the tusks of a wild boar; they had hands of brass, wings of gold, and one eye only in common among them. The most hideous of the three was Medusa: snakes clothed her head instead of hair; and her aspect was such, that whosoever ventured to look on it was instantly changed into stone. Perseus nevertheless was victorious. He slew Medusa, and placed her head  
in



**B O O K** in his shield, where it continued to have the same

**I.** effect on the beholders, as if it had still been in-  
**Sect. 1.** formed with life. Thence he passed over into Mauritania, whose king was Atlas, a prince of gigantic size and enormous strength, and the possessor of immense wealth, having flocks and herds without number, and in his garden trees that bowed down with fruits of gold. Here Perseus must have been totally overmatched, if he had not made a seasonable use of Medusa's head : by the help of this, his enemies fell before him, and Atlas himself was changed into a stone which bore his name for ages after, yielding his boasted treasures a prey to the conqueror.

WE find Perseus next on the coast of Phœnicia. The territories of Cepheus, king of Joppa, being infested by a sea-monster, an oracle had required the king to give up his lovely daughter Andromeda to be devoured by its jaws, as the only means of relieving the country. The distress of his people had at length prevailed over the feelings of the parent; Andromeda was bound to a rock, and already was the fell destroyer in view, when Perseus appeared in the air, upborn on his wings. The event of the combat may be easily conjectured. He darted down on the monster, slew him, and received in reward the hand of the fair princess whom he had delivered.

AFTER these successes Perseus returned to Greece, where the fortunes of Acrisius had undergone a great revolution. His brother Prœtus, who had long since cast an ambitious eye on the throne of Argos, being assured that Acrisius was now childless, had put his designs into execution by openly invading the kingdom. Perseus made it his first care to humble the usurper, and reinstate his grandfather on the throne. The oracle, with which Acrisius was threatened, was still however

to

to have its completion. Perseus was exercising in **Book** the presence of his grandfather at quoits, one of **I.** the customary games of that age, when his quoit **Sect. 1.** chancing to alight on the foot of the old king was the cause of his death. The unhappy accident obliged Perseus to depart from Argos : for among the antient inhabitants of Greece, such was the tenderness shewn to the life of man, that even he who had killed another without design was obliged to go into banishment, not to return, till he had obtained expiation at the court of some foreign prince. Resigning the throne therefore to the family of Proetus, Perseus retired to another part of the country, where he built Mycenæ, afterwards the rival of Argos, and for a time a city of the greatest eminence in the southern parts of Greece.

THE remainder of the days of Perseus appears to have been days of glory, if we may be allowed to conjecture from the honourable station the poets have assigned to him and his family. He and his wife Andromeda, with her father and mother Cepheus and Cassiopeia, were translated into heaven, and became constellations. Probably Cepheus and Perseus employed themselves in astronomical observations, and the stars which have their names from this royal family were first observed by them. This was also the opinion of Cicero.

THE history of Bellerophon is not less strongly tinged with this romantic colouring.

NOT the least remarkable of the several principalities founded in Greece by the descendants of Deucalion was that on the Isthmus, which divides the Ægean sea from the Ionian, connecting the northern part of Greece with its southern peninsula. On this neck of land Sisyphus, son to Æolus whose grandfire was Deucalion, built a city, called at the beginning Ephyre, but more generally known by its later name of Corinth. To Sisyphus

**B o o k** thus succeeded his son Glaucus, who was the fa-

**I.** ther of Bellerophon. By ill fortune Bellerophon  
**Sect. 1.** slew his brother ; in consequence of which defile-  
 ment, though heir to the Corinthian crown, he  
 found it necessary to withdraw to the court of Ar-  
 gos, where Prætus, then on the Argive throne,  
 admitted him to the rites of expiation. Prætus was  
 at this time stricken in years ; but he had a queen  
 of age much inferior, Sthenobœa, or Antœea, as  
**Il 6. 150.** Homer calls her, who saw the young prince with  
 guilty eyes, and soon found an opportunity of  
 making her tender wishes known to him. Belle-  
 rophon had virtue, and rejected her suit : an in-  
 dignity which Sthenobœa resented, by accusing  
 him to her husband of an attempt upon her honour.  
 The fond king lent a credulous ear to the accusa-  
 tion ; but so highly in those primitive times were  
 the laws of hospitality revered, that he durst not  
 embrue his hands in the blood of a man, however  
 criminal, to whom he had given refuge. He sent  
 him away to Jobates, king of Lycia and father to  
 Sthenobœa, with sealed tablets, in which the  
 charge against Bellerophon was warmly urged, and  
 Jobates called upon to revenge the insult offered to  
 his family,

**DURING** nine days Jobates feasted the noble  
 stranger, before he would enquire into the busi-  
 ness that had brought him to the Lycian court.  
 At length on the tenth day the deadly dispatches  
 were opened, and Jobates was informed of the  
 dreadful secret. The situation of the Lycian king  
 was now peculiarly distressing. The honour of his  
 daughter was dear to him : but Bellerophon was  
 his guest ; and a principle of religion, which in  
 the age of heroism men knew not how to violate,  
 forbid him to execute vengeance on a person  
 whom he had admitted to his table. He adopted  
 a middle course, and as if he meant to leave the  
 cause



cause to the decision of heaven, resolved to set B o o k  
 Bellerophon on some perilous enterprize, in which I.  
 he might have an opportunity of approving his Sect. I.  
 magnanimity, and perhaps his innocence; or if  
 guilty, might meet the punishment he deserved.

IN the neighbourhood of the royal city where  
 Jobates had his residence, was the Chimæra, the  
 terror of Lycia, which had desolated for a considerable  
 time the whole country around. This monster  
 had the upper parts of a lion, its middle was  
 that of a goat, its tail was the tail of a dragon, and  
 out of its mouth issued flames of fire. Bellerophon  
 was commanded to encounter this pest: he obeyed,  
 and was successful. Jobates next ordered him  
 to clear the country of the Solymi, a tribe of  
 freebooters, who from their fastnesses in the Lycian  
 mountains made frequent incursions into the  
 plains below. He succeeded in this service also.  
 He was then required to employ his arms against  
 the Amazons, whom he defeated, and on his return  
 was obliged to give another specimen of his  
 prowess against a band of chosen Lycians, who  
 were stationed on his road to intercept him: they  
 all fell beneath his arm. These repeated deliverances  
 wrought an impression on the mind of Jobates.  
 He began to suspect the truth of an accusation, so  
 little according with the gallantry of this chief, and  
 the signal protection with which heaven had distinguished  
 him. Not only he received him into his favour;  
 he shared his kingdom with him, and gave him one  
 of his daughters to wife.

BELLEROPHON's latter fortunes were of a darker  
 cast. If some of the writers of fable were to  
 obtain belief, in the insolence of prosperity he  
 conceived the hope of mounting up to heaven on  
 the back of a winged horse; but Jupiter punished  
 his temerity by casting him down again to this  
 lower world, there to wander for a number of  
 ages,

**BOOK** ages, forlorn and comfortless. This fiction, which

**I.** like many of the Grecian tales is of the moral  
**Sect. 1.** class, and seems to have had in view the insolence  
 of attempting to penetrate into the secrets of divine  
 providence, is not supported by any thing that ap-  
 pears in Bellerophon's conduct. The account  
 given by Homer, though somewhat involved in fa-  
 ble, is far more worthy of the general character  
 which this prince sustains in antient story. His  
 eldest son fell by the hand of Mars : his daughters,  
 in the bloom of youth and beauty, were slain by  
 the arrows of Diana. Calamities so heavy preyed  
 on the spirits of the affectionate father. He sunk  
 into a gloomy melancholy, and spent his last years  
 in a lonely retirement, far from the chearful resort  
 of men.

FROM these outlines may be seen, what are the  
 historical records of those remote ages. An air  
 of fiction prevails through the best of them. And  
 such obscurity have the fabulous mixtures diffused  
 over the transactions, that it is always difficult,  
 and often scarcely possible, to descry the truth.

## B O O K I.

## SECTION II.

**T**HE insecure state of most of the principalities of Greece in their early days, from their mutual jealousies, from the successive invasions of new adventurers, from the inroads of corsairs, or the incursions of the northern borderers, interrupted considerably during a length of time the progress of civilization throughout this country. The first institution that seems to have given a check to barbarous manners, and to have laid the foundation of the political importance of Greece, was the Amphictyonic Council. To whom the original plan of this celebrated establishment is to be ascribed—whether, as some pretend, to Acrisius, or rather, according to the best esteemed writers, to Amphictyon a son of Deucalion, is a matter involved in the gloom of remote antiquity, and in itself of little moment. In what view the Council was instituted, what was its form, and what



BOOK what the manner in which it operated, are points  
I. more worthy of historical enquiry.

Sect. 2. THE several petty kingdoms founded in Theffaly by the princes of the house of Deucalion appear to have formed the north-east boundary of what was antiently called Greece. Beyond this line dwelt in old time the Centaurs and Lapithæ, people of whose fierceness the Grecian records speak in the most exaggerated style; and farther on, various hordes of the Scythian race occupied the country since known by the name of Macedon, together with the adjacent provinces of Thrace. Against the insults of these rapacious neighbours it seemed as if nature had provided Greece with an effectual rampart. The foot of mount Cæta projected within a short way of the Maliac bay, a deep and dangerous morass, leaving only a very narrow pass, which in those days was believed to be the single entrance from the north into Greece, and obtained from that circumstance the name of Pylæ, *the gates*, or on account of certain hot springs in the neighbourhood, Thermopylæ, *the gates of the hot springs*. Many circumstances contributed to render this pass formidable. On one side, the steepy ascent of Cæta, even to the clouds, appeared to defy the foot of man; on the other, the Maliac fens presented an abyss which none had yet dared to fathom: and between these lay an opening dark and rugged, of twenty yards breadth at the most, where a small resolute band might with ease have withstood thousands. And yet, more than once had the barrier been found an insufficient protection. The northern borderers, sweeping away the feeble opposition of the adjacent inhabitants, had often poured in; and to Bœotia, and even to Attica, had their depredations been known to extend. In addition also to foreign danger, the petty states into which Greece was then divided  
had

had but too frequently the claims of an ambitious B o o k  
 neighbour to guard against ; and with whomsoever I.  
 was the right, success was seldom with the weak- Sect. 2.  
 est.

It was therefore deemed expedient, that a confederacy should be formed of such of the neighbouring communities as by their situation or their weakness lay most exposed to danger, who should watch over the general weal, and pledge themselves to each other, according as the emergency might require, either to repel the insult of foreign enemies, or controul the violence of internal oppressors. For these laudable purposes twelve of the Grecian states entered into a league, of whom nine were of Thessaly, or bordering on it ; a plain indication, on which side danger was most apprehended : the other associates were the Ionians (the antient name of the people of Attica) the Bæotians, and the Phocians. And that there might be a permanent tribunal, where the aggrieved should always find redress, and every matter of strife between state and state be brought to a speedy decision, a council was established, composed of deputies from these several states, who were empowered to hear and determine. Twice a year this council was to hold its sessions, in spring, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, in autumn, in that of Ceres on the banks of the Asopus, near Thermopylæ ; and it might be convened oftener, on any extraordinary emergency. To add lustre to a tribunal of so much consequence, its members were invested with the sacred character of ministers of religion : to them it belonged, besides their other offices, to superintend the worship and festivals of the gods (of the Delphic deities especially) and to take care that violation should not be offered to their sacred edifices, or to any of the possessions which had been dedicated to them. In punishing delinquents,

**BOOK** delinquents, they commonly proceeded by way of

I. fine : sentence given, the party condemned was to  
Sect. 2. yield obedience immediately, on pain of being pronounced accursed ; and if it was found necessary to employ force, the other Amphictyonic states were to arm, and compel the refractory. Several instances of wars of this kind occur in the Grecian annals.

THIS association, though confined at first to the cantons that lay to the north of the Corinthian Isthmus, by degrees, as the original members began to emigrate southward, extended itself to the greater part of Greece, preserving its use and dignity to the latter days of the Grecian commonwealths. As Greece lost her liberties, the Amphictyonic states saw their power depart from them.

WE have mentioned the Delphic temple. The distinguished place, which this house of idolatry holds in the religious history of the Grecian people, renders it an object deserving of particular attention.

THE oracular establishment at Delphi had its beginning in the darkest ages of Greece. It is supposed to have been the work of certain Egyptian colonists, who passed over thither, according to some historians, from Crete, according to others, from the Hyperborean land. What were the arts employed in the erection of this fabric of imposture, we have only vague conjecture to inform us. The first oracles, says Grecian fable, were delivered by the Earth. Probably from some concealment under ground was the oracular voice made to issue. No temple was known at Delphi in those days of simplicity. The abode of the deity was formed, Pausanias tells us, by a texture of laurel boughs wrought into a bower. After a time, the industry of the bee tribe erected a kind of temple walls of  
wax,



wax, adorned with the wings of the little archi-  
 tects, composed the oracular dwelling. To the  
 Earth succeeded Themis, the goddess of justice.  
 It should seem from this tradition, that the oracu-  
 lar ministers had now assumed to themselves some  
 kind of judicial authority. Finally, Apollo or the  
 Sun, a deity confessedly of Egyptian origin, to  
 whom according to the pagan ritual prophetic in-  
 spiration peculiarly belonged, had the oracle com-  
 mitted to his care.

BUT in whatsoever obscurity the origin of this  
 establishment may be enveloped, there is little dif-  
 ficulty in accounting for the views of the establish-  
 ers. Doubtless their purpose was, to obtain a  
 dominion over the savage tribes of the country by  
 possessing them with the belief, that they were the  
 interpreters of heaven, and that the secret of hu-  
 man destinies was in their hands. And certainly,  
 in those infant days of the Grecian people, many  
 things concurred in favour of such an attempt—  
 the desire natural to the human mind of looking  
 into futurity; the disposition to the love of the  
 marvellous, always strongest in the barbarous and  
 uninstructed; above all, the continual succession  
 of new invaders, of wars, of revolutions, with  
 which Greece about this period began to be, and  
 was for several ages after, afflicted heavily; cala-  
 mities which must often have brought the anxious  
 enquirer to a sanctuary, where he was taught to  
 expect at once relief from his present distress, and  
 the knowledge of his future fortunes.

THERE was, besides, somewhat in the Grecian  
 character, that appears to have encouraged these  
 deceptions. No people ever listened with a fonder  
 credulity to the illusory arts, supposed to be instru-  
 mental to prognostication. A dream, a monstrous  
 birth, a novel sight, a sudden voice, the flight of  
 a bird, the crackling of a leaf, the burning of a  
 Vol. I. E straw,

BOOK straw, were religiously interpreted, even in the

I. better ages of Greece, as monitions sent by the  
Sect. 2. gods. And scarcely was there in that entire country an antient temple or monument, grove or hallowed spring, where at some period of time oracular responses had not been sought. At Dodona in Epirus, a city which boasted that her's was the first temple known in Greece, it was the national creed, not only that a dove had been originally the prophetic minister, but that even the trees of the Dodonæan forest, and the brazen vessels employed in the service of the presiding deity, had delivered oracles.

BUT of all the oracular temples recorded in Grecian story, the most highly revered by the pagan world was the temple of the Delphic god. It had the advantage of being seated in the midst of Greece, in Phocis, a part of the Grecian land renowned for its many romantic situations, most of which are celebrated by the fabulists of antient days as the chosen abode of the several rural divinities. And at every fountain, and on every hill around, had the nymphs and fauns, said the Grecian visionary, been frequently seen to lead their mazy dances. The mountain Parnassus, on which the Delphic temple was, shot up into two summits, held sacred, the one to Bacchus, the other to Apollo. On the declivity of the mountain was the Castalian fount, whose waters had the virtue of poetic inspiration: to the margin of this favourite spring, Greece affirmed, it was the delight of the Muses to resort; and here had the heavenly voices of those goddesses of harmony been frequently heard. On the side of Parnassus, near the mountain's brow which hung boldly over, rose the oracular temple amidst rocks and precipices. Two narrow paths led to it: every other way nature had made inaccessible. The spot where stood the

place of enquiry was adorned with laurel groves B o o k  
 ever blooming, the beauty of which was highly I.  
 relieved by the rugged and barren aspect of the Sect. 2.  
 neighbouring parts : and from thence to the foot  
 of the mountain the rocks lowered regularly with  
 much appearance of design, exhibiting at some  
 distance the image of a great and awful amphitheatre. But what chiefly contributed to the majesty  
 and sacred horror, which are said to have dwelt  
 around this oracular seat, was the variety of echoes  
 from the cavities and inflexions of the mountain.  
 Every voice, and especially every sound of horn or  
 trumpet, was repeated a number of times, and with  
 a wonderful encrease of strength : so that by the  
 artful disposing of some few persons in certain parts  
 of it, a firm persuasion has been inculcated that  
 beings more than human inhabited the place, and  
 the whole Parnassus at times has seemed to shake  
 and become vocal.

IN their management of the Delphic priestesses (for  
 by a woman were the oracles delivered) much con-  
 trivance is likewise discernible. Pagan writers tell  
 us strange things of her frantic distortions of fea-  
 ture and attitude, at the time that the god, as they  
 called it, *possessed* her. Her hair stood on end, her  
 eyes rolled, her breast wrought with tumultuous  
 heavings, her voice grew furious, she howled, and  
 writhed her convulsed body, so that scarcely could  
 the assisting priests retain her on the sacred tripod,  
 the seat where she was placed during her supposed  
 communication with the demon. Whilst she was  
 thus, ministers appointed for the purpose collect-  
 ed the broken accents that burst from her, and  
 moulded them into verse.

THESE extraordinary emotions some have as-  
 cribed to the actual influence of a demon, and  
 some to an inebriating vapour arising from the ora-  
 cular part of the mountain, of which the priests



B o o k knew the secret, and with which they contrived to

I. have their prophets inflated. With more proba-  
 Sect. 2. bility they may be accounted for in a different manner. It appears from history, that one of the principal circumstances by which the guardians of the oracle were directed in the choice of a priestess was her gloomy cast of mind; and that for three days before she ascended the tripod, no sustenance was allowed her but some intoxicating medicaments, the force of which was encreased by her chewing of laurel leaves, and undergoing strong aromatic fumigations, just before she was placed on the prophetic stool. These, together with the impressions of terror which the fraudulent priests were in readiness to make on the enthusiastic mind of a susceptible weak female, will best tell the reason of those convulsive agitations.

To the general causes already assigned for the estimation in which the oracle of Delphos was held by antiquity, we must add the captivating splendor of the Pythian games, solemnized here every fourth year with the greatest concourse both of the several Grecian tribes and of the nations adjoining, and expressly instituted by the Amphictyonic council to celebrate the Pythian god. As in these games was displayed not only all the magnificence of pagan superstition, but also all that enchanting melody to be had from the pathetic music of antient days, it will not appear surprising that they should conciliate an uncommon veneration to

——— *The great leader of the heavenly choir,*

——— *Whom Lycia's plain,*

*Whom Delos and Castalia's springs obey.*

A sumptuous temple was raised in honour of his oracle, and when consumed by fire, was succeeded by another still more sumptuous. Numberless  
 suppliant

suppliants resorted to it from all parts. Princes Book  
 themselves sent hither to enquire of the issue of I.  
 battles and the fate of empires. And such a pro- Sect. 2.  
 fusion of rich offerings did the piety of Europe and  
 Asia hoard up together here, that even so early as  
 Homer, had the treasures of the Pythian temple  
 become proverbial: when the glory of that edifice  
 was at the height, they are supposed to have  
 equalled the treasures of the wealthiest sovereigns  
 of those days.

HOWEVER, in process of time, the oracle began  
 to lose much of its influence. As the people be-  
 came more knowing, the priests were found to be  
 less shrewd; the temple was repeatedly profaned  
 with impunity by the hand of the spoiler, in defi-  
 ance of the boasted majesty of the tutelary god;  
 and those wonders, which had excited the veneration  
 of a rude age, were beheld with indifference  
 by a people better instructed. Then, discoveries  
 were made not much to the honour of the Delphic  
 ministers; and experience proved, that oracles  
 could be purchased for a price. Until, in the end,  
 the Pythian shrine fell into utter disesteem, and  
 together with the rest of the Pagan oracles (all  
 certainly the offspring of artifice and ignorance)  
 was treated with contempt by the pagans them-  
 selves.

PROTECTED by the Amphictyonic confederati-  
 on, those provinces of Greece which lay north-  
 ward of the Corinthian isthmus soon began to en-  
 joy some intervals of tranquillity. Not so the  
 southern provinces. Exposed on every side, they  
 had continually to dread, now the cupidity of a  
 restless neighbour, and now the depredations of  
 some new ravager. Scarcely had peace been re-  
 stored to those settlements through which the tur-  
 bulence of the princes of the house of Deucalion  
 had lately spread confusion, when the landing of  
 Danaus

**B O O K** Danaus from Egypt, and the arrival of Pelops

**I.** from Asia, brought on far more considerable re-  
**Sect. 2.** volutions. The large share, which these two leaders appear to have had in the affairs of early Greece, has made their names memorable.

THE history of Danaus, like that of the other chiefs of those distant ages, has come down to us much disguised with romantic embellishment. His brother, say the antient legends, was king of Egypt. Danaus conspired against him, failed of his treasonable purpose, and was forced to flee into Greece. He had fifty daughters, the Egyptian king as many sons, who deeply enamoured of the young princesses, followed Danaus to the Grecian shore, and besought him to bestow his daughters on them in marriage. The opportunity of mischief was not neglected by the vindictive Danaus. He appointed, that the nuptials of the fifty should be all solemnized together; but gave orders to his daughters, that on the nuptial night, at the unsuspecting hour of repose, each bride should murder the prince she had espoused, or incur death as the penalty of her disobedience. The horrid mandate was but too faithfully executed. One only of the princesses refused compliance, and saved her husband at the price of her own life. The fancy of the poets has followed the traces of these merciless wives even beyond the grave. A guilt so unexampled was pronounced by the judges of the infernal world to deserve unexampled punishment: they are doomed in the realms below to be for ever drawing water into a vessel incapable of being filled.

WHAT part of the adventures of Danaus gave rise to this dark fable, or how far the history of his fortunes whilst in Egypt may be concealed beneath it, it were of little use to enquire. In Greece he seems to have supported a different character.



rafter. He had landed on the Argive coast, where B o o k  
 reigned at this time an inactive, timorous prince, I.  
 by name Gelanor. The Argives beheld with ad- Sect. 2.  
 miration the gallant exertions of the Egyptian ad-  
 venturer, so much to the disadvantage of their own  
 king, that encouraged by an omen (a rule of con-  
 duct much attended to at that period) they de-  
 posed Gelanor, to make way for Danaus. Their  
 choice of him was in a manner justified by the wis-  
 dom of his government. The territory of Argos  
 was remarkably sterile : he taught them to fertilize  
 the barren soil ; he approved himself the father of  
 his new subjects, by introducing among them a  
 degree of civilization and culture, to which they  
 had hitherto been strangers. And so dear did  
 they hold his memory, that in honour of him they  
 took the name of Danai, an appellation which  
 they retained ever after, and which was extended  
 likewise in the following ages to the other Grecian  
 communities. His daughters also are recorded to  
 have been the first who instructed the Argive peo-  
 ple to celebrate the feast of the goddess of harvests  
 after the manner of Egypt, that is, with typical re-  
 presentations and allegoric personages ; a plain  
 indication, that from the improvements, of which  
 this Egyptian family introduced the example, a  
 more complete knowledge of agriculture and the  
 arts connected with it was introduced into Greece.  
 Grecian tradition tells us, that several of these  
 Egyptian princesses were afterwards matched into  
 some of the most illustrious families of the country.  
 One of them, Amymone, is said to have wedded  
 a powerful prince who reigned in one of the adja-  
 cent islands, and who accordingly stands honoured  
 in poetic history with the title of Neptune, or  
 monarch of the deep, in the style of adulation  
 usual in those days of fiction. The famed Pala-  
 medes, to whose literary abilities the Greek alpha-  
 bet

BOOK bet is much indebted, a leader of the Greeks at

I. Troy who fell by the unjust accusation of the wily  
Sect. 2. Ulysses, was grandson to this princess.

THUS far of Danaus. Pelops makes still a more conspicuous figure in Grecian story.

OVER that part of the greater Phrygia which is adjacent to mount Sipylus reigned Tantalus father to Pelops, one of the most potent and wealthy princes of his time, but held in detestation by his neighbours on account of his impiety and violences. Of the magnificence in which he lived some idea may be formed from the tradition, that the whole assembly of the gods honoured his banquet with their presence. But the same tradition intimates, how daring was the guilt of this impious prince: in order to make trial whether his heavenly guests were to be deceived, he served up to them his son Pelops, slain by him for that purpose, but whom the gods were pleased to restore again to life. From this uncouth fiction it seems as if the horrid rite of human sacrifices had been part of the guilt of this Phrygian tyrant, and that even the offering up of his own son had been attempted by him.

PROVOKED by an insult of the most flagitious nature, the royal family of Troy at length engaged in a war against him, which they never ceased to pursue until they had driven the guilty race out of Asia. Together with his empire Tantalus lost his life; and his son Pelops, hopeless of recovering the throne of his ancestors, fled to Greece with what treasure he could save, and with a number of Asiatics the companions of his fortune. At this time, the court of Elis employed the attention of the southern parts of Greece. Enomaus, the Elean king, was accounted the most expert charioteer of those days. In the insolence of pride, or perhaps induced to it by some oracle,

oracle, he had challenged the prime of all Greece **B o o k**  
 to enter the lists against him ; his daughter, his **I.**  
 only child, with the throne of Elis, to be the re- **Seçt. 2.**  
 ward of the fortunate champion who should obtain  
 the victory over him ; the vanquished to suffer  
 death, as the price of his presumption. Already  
 had twenty noble youths attempted the hazardous  
 contest, and had fallen in the attempt. Their  
 miscarriage discouraged not the Phrygian adven-  
 turer from offering himself a claimant ; but more  
 provident than his predecessors, he contrived to  
 secure an interest in Myrtilus, the confidential ser-  
 vant of the king of Elis, to whom the care of the  
 royal chariot was always entrusted. Accordingly,  
 the two contending chariots having entered the  
 course, when CEnomaus was now in full career,  
 and seemingly, as usual, stretching away to victo-  
 ry, his chariot flew afunder : the king fell, and  
 was slain, leaving his daughter and his throne to  
 be possessed by the victorious Pelops.

To a prince accustomed to the splendor and  
 martial exploits of the Asiatic despots, the Elean  
 kingdom, confined within such narrow limits as  
 generally bounded the Grecian kingdoms of those  
 days, appeared but an humble acquisition ; more  
 extensive objects soon courted his ambition. Of  
 Myrtilus, to whom he had promised a part of the  
 kingdom in requital of his treachery, he soon got  
 rid, by inventing a charge against him, for which  
 he put him to death. The city of Olympia in the  
 neighbourhood of Elis was a distinct principality,  
 that seemed to press on the Elean borders : on  
 some pretence or another he ejected the prince who  
 reigned there, and united it to the crown of Elis.  
 In like manner he went on, enlarging his bounda-  
 ries at the expence of the several petty sovereignties  
 around him ; and where he could not hope to  
 subjugate, he created to himself an influence, in  
 some



**BOOK** some neighbouring states by the force of money,  
**I.** in others by intrigue and artful services. His sons  
**SECT. 2.** and grandsons also, as they grew up, he made the instruments of his ambition, contriving for them such marriages as promised aggrandisement to his family, and strengthening himself by alliances with the most potent of these southern kingdoms.

THIS policy soon effected what he had in view. In some few years he saw himself the most respected of the Grecian chieftains: most of the southern princes were either his confederates or dependents; and the entire peninsula to the southward of the Corinthian isthmus, quitting the name of *Ægialea* or *Apia*, by which it was known in early days, carried down to the succeeding generations the memory of this prince by receiving the appellation of *Pelops' island*, *Peloponnesus*.

WHAT makes the rapid progress of the Pelopian family appear the more extraordinary, is the character which his sons, *Atræus* and *Thyestes*, bear in antient story. The younger, *Thyestes*, jealous that *Atræus* was more richly portioned, had been guilty of violating his brother's bed, and by his influence with the adulteress, of plundering his treasures. *Atræus* discovered the injury that had been done him, but with great art suppressed his indignation, till he found an opportunity of privately killing two of *Thyestes'* children, whose flesh he caused to be dressed, and served up at their father's table. The sun, says the Grecian legend, turned back at this sight of horrors; and an irreconcilable enmity, which displayed itself in a series of bloody deeds, grew up between the brothers and their posterity.

NEVERTHELESS, in the midst of the disastrous scenes which these domestic crimes exhibited, the public fortunes of the family of *Pelops* continued still to flourish. At the time of the Trojan war, that

that is, about fifty years after the arrival of Pelops in Greece, we find the grandsons of this Asiatic stranger possessed of the principal maritime provinces on the eastern, northern, and southern coasts of Peloponnesus : they were seated on the thrones of Mycenæ and Sparta ; Corinth with its depending territories was their's ; and the several Messenian cities confessed their sway. And even of the inland provinces it appears that some of the most considerable derived their importance chiefly from their friendship, and looked up to them for protection. In naval force likewise there was not a Grecian power, not even Crete, that could contend with them ; and over most of the Grecian islands they had established their dominion.

BUT no more of them at present. This part of the history of the Pelopidæ belongs to another period : we shall have occasion to speak of them again.

THE continual influx of new adventurers into Greece, how fatal soever we may conceive it to have often been to the early settlements in this country, was far from being detrimental to the general prosperity. Independently of the encrease of population derived from it, the frequent removes of the planters from their first seats to places of greater security occasioned a more equal distribution of inhabitants over the face of the country, and gave cultivation to those rugged and mountainous parts, which, but for this pressure from abroad, had probably during a length of years remained desolate and useless. These strangers besides, together with augmented numbers, brought into Greece their wealth, their improvements, their industry. The deep wisdom and political institutions of Egypt, the arts commercial and manual of Sidon, the literary attainments of the borderers on the sea of Edom, the splendor and elegance of taste

**BOOK** taste that in all ages have distinguished the Asiatics,

**I.** the impetuous valour of the soldier of fortune, the  
**Sect. 2.** habit of enterprize of the bold corsair, all, as it  
 were, conspired to fashion the Grecian character. Fortunately too for Greece, these bands of colonists soon lost the memory of every foreign attachment : cut off, most of them, by circumstance from all hopes of seeing again the country whence they came, they accustomed themselves to look upon Greece as their native soil, and to consult her welfare with a filial solicitude. It certainly required some time, before the tempers and habits of these discordant portions of mankind could be melted down and blended into one. When this was completed, then did the genius of Greece avow itself. And very possibly to this commixture of nations is the real cause to be traced, why she ever attained to such an extraordinary proficiency in arts and science, and why at this day we have to admire that invention, that acuteness, that versatility and elevation of thought, in which she seems to stand foremost among the nations.

HITHERTO the Grecian annals have exhibited to us little else than the infant exertions of a people rising slowly into civil life, and in the course of their progress having to contend with all those obstructions, which the jarring interest of a number of petty tribes independent of each other, and the incessant incursions of new adventurers, must naturally have produced. At length Greece began to exert her strength, to see the mischiefs to which her disjointed state had repeatedly exposed her, and in the union of her sons to seek protection. The first achievement of this kind, of which the Grecian records have preserved the remembrance, is the Argonautic expedition. And yet such a deep obscurity have the embellishments of fable cast over most parts of this transaction, that history has been sometimes diffident of adopting it. We shall endeavour



deavour to trace the principal outlines of what this **Book**  
 antient event appears truly to have been. **I.**

**IN** the early days of the Grecian people, the **Sect. 2.**  
 employment of the corsair was honourable. To  
 range the seas, in order to make a descent where  
 any prize was to be had, and to plunder and carry  
 off the inhabitants, was numbered among the noblest  
 martial exploits of that age; and the most civilized  
 of the nations that dwelt on the shore of the Me-  
 diterranean did not disdain to employ themselves in  
 these predatory expeditions. Greece had often suf-  
 fered from this species of hostility; her plantations  
 had been laid waste; her villagers, and even the  
 daughters of her princes, had been carried into  
 captivity. It was therefore now one of her first  
 cares to make her neighbours know, that her  
 coasts should no longer be insulted with impu-  
 nity.

**WHAT** Greece had never yet attempted, a  
 strong naval force was resolved on, to scour  
 the adjacent seas, and impress on the nations  
 around the terror of the Grecian name. The se-  
 veral princes throughout the Grecian land were in-  
 vited to assist in the generous project, and one spi-  
 rit appeared on this occasion to animate the whole  
 people. The conduct of the enterprise, with the  
 superintendence of the naval preparations, was  
 given to Jason, a young Thessalian, nephew to Pe-  
 lias king of Iolchos. To his banners multitudes  
 crowded from every part of Greece; and in the  
 space of a few months did the exulting Greeks be-  
 hold a fleet of their own, home-built, home-man-  
 ned, riding in gallant array on the coast of Thes-  
 saly.

**OF** what number of vessels this fleet consisted,  
 the imperfect annals of those days have not told  
 us. Grecian pride has taken care to transmit to  
 us the name only of the admiral-galley; she was  
 called

BOOK called the *Argo*, according to some, in compliment to Argos the builder, according to others, Sect. 2. from a word in the Phœnician language denoting an armed galley. Whatever was its signification, the word has fixed in the historic page on the several chiefs who engaged in this expedition the title of Argonauts, the *Argo-mariners*.

THEY began their course by bearing away to the island of Lemnos, that lies off Thrace. This island, says antient story, was the first place of the European world into which the Egyptian sages introduced the art of making iron, and is therefore celebrated by the Grecian fabulists as the sacred residence of Vulcan, the god of fire, and patron of smithcraft. It does not however appear, that religion had any share in conducting the Grecian adventurers thither. From Lemnos they visited divers places on the Thracian coast, and among the rest, Salmydessus, the royal seat of Phineus, esteemed so highly in those days for his wisdom, that he had the reputation of having received the gift of prophecy from the gods. Phineus was now far advanced in years, and even blind through excess of age; of which infirm condition certain of his concubines (fable calls them *Harpyes*) had so far availed themselves, as to usurp the supreme authority, and to treat the old king with the utmost contumely. By the aid of the Argonauts Phineus was enabled to recover his dignity, and to banish the encroaching females from Salmydessus. He testified his gratitude by furnishing his deliverers with ample information of the perils they were to guard against in the seas which they were to explore; and to his instructions, principally, were they indebted for the fortunate issue of their voyage.

AFTER displaying their prowess among the Thracian tribes, these champions crossed over to Asia,

Asia, and landed in the neighbourhood of Troy, Book  
 whose king at that time was Laomedon. Him 1  
 they found much exhausted by an unsuccessful Sect. 2.  
 war against a powerful neighbour, who in the insolence of victory was spreading devastation through the territories of Troy, and had refused to grant peace to her king except on conditions the most humiliating. At the earnest desire of Laomedon, who promised to recompense their services in the most ample manner, they espoused his cause, and relieved him from his formidable adversary.

An exploit of a more arduous kind next presented itself. On the northern shore of the Euxine or Black sea, known to the antient Greeks, from the dangers with which it was said to abound, by the name of *the inhospitable*, was the kingdom of Colchis, where lived a prince and a people, of whose ferocious manners report told many a terrifying tale. Æetes, tyrant of Colchis, in the pride of power laid claim to a divine original, giving himself out to be the offspring of the Sun. His immense treasures, which fame declared him perpetually encreasing by every kind of oppression, he was said to guard with the most suspicious jealousy. His avarice had even prompted him to imbrue his hands in the blood of Phryxus, a young Grecian prince who had taken refuge in his dominions. On the royal stranger's arrival at court, Æetes had the art to win his confidence by the most liberal offers, and as a pledge of his regard, gave him his daughter Chalciope to wife. But in the course of a few years the fortunes of the young prince became so prosperous, his flocks, say the fabulists, being clothed with fleeces of gold, that the Colchian king cast a covetous eye on his possessions, despoiled him of all, and put him to death. Tidings of the murder had reached Greece some time before the Argo sailed; and it was among



BOOK among the principal objects of the expedition, to  
 I. execute vengeance on the sanguinary tyrant for so  
 Sect. 2. flagrant a violation of the rights of hospitality.

How to perform this part of their errand, was now the difficulty. In addition to the dangers to be apprehended from the length of sea between the Trojan shore and that of Colchos, the entrance of the Euxine was guarded by two rocks, reported to be ever dashing one against the other with a collision so violent, as to shiver to pieces whatever vessel was intercepted by them, and so rapid, that scarcely could a bird of the swiftest wing take his flight between them. If by the help of those instructions they had received from the sage Phineus the danger should be happily surmounted, an equal peril awaited them immediately on their arrival at Colchos. The jealous Æetes, intent on the preservation of his treasures, had his palace guarded by monsters of irresistible strength and fierceness, a dragon that never slept, whose breath was instant destruction to all that approached him, and two brazen-footed bulls, emitting volumes of flame from their nostrils. These amplifications, the usual language of terror, sufficiently declare, that the tyrant had left no menace of death omitted to defend the place where his treasures were deposited.

THE undaunted Argonauts nevertheless pressed onward, in the face of every difficulty and every opposition : and their success was equal to their intrepidity. Beaten out of all his other resources, Æetes at last sent against them a powerful body of troops, under the command of his son Absyrtus. The prince fell in the battle ; his army was routed and dispersed ; and these boasted treasures, the *golden fleece* of the Grecian poets, which had cost the ruthless king so many crimes, became the prize of the gallant company of the Argonauts.

ACCORDING

ACCORDING to some historians, to Medea prin- B o o k  
 cess of Colchis much of this success is to be as- I.  
 cribed. To all the charms of youth and beauty Sect. 2.  
 Medea joined the most extensive mental accom-  
 plishments attainable by a person of her situation,  
 and in the age in which she lived; she possessed an  
 uncommon strength of soul; and what gave the  
 highest lustre to her character, her heart was alive  
 to every tender sentiment of humanity. Thus en-  
 dowed, the Colchian princess seemed designed to  
 be the most brilliant ornament of her father's court.  
 Æetes accounted her the reproach of it. She had  
 long lamented, and often counteracted, his bloody  
 purposes. It was his custom to offer in sacrifice to  
 his gods whatever strangers accident, or even the  
 force of tempests, cast upon the coasts of his king-  
 dom: the favourite employment of his daughter  
 was to attempt the preservation of these innocent  
 victims. And lately, when the fortunes of Phryxus,  
 in which were involved those of her unhappy sister  
 Chalciope, were on the point of being overset by  
 her cruel father, she interposed, she entreated, she  
 expostulated, and so inflamed the wrath of the fu-  
 rious oppressor by her opposition, that he ordered  
 her from his presence, and even committed her to  
 prison under the custody of his ministers of ven-  
 geance. In this distressful situation was the prin-  
 cess, when the Argonauts arrived at Colchis. Im-  
 pelled by resentment not less than by her fears, she  
 made her escape to them, and implored their pro-  
 tection. By her instructions our adventurers made  
 their way through obstacles, which without that  
 seasonable assistance had most probably been too  
 mighty for them.

THE sequel of the history of the fair Colchian is  
 too interesting, not to deserve a place here.

ON leaving Colchis, the unanimous voice of the  
 Argonauts adjudged Medea to Jason, as the no-

BOOK blest present they could offer to their illustrious

I. leader: and she became his wife. But Medea

SECT. 2. was destined to misfortune. Her family had a claim to the throne of Corinth. This city therefore Jason and his wife, on the return of the Argo to Greece, made their place of residence, where they lived for some years in a splendor suitable to their birth, and in the strictest union. Time however, by diminishing the charms of Medea, wrought a change in the affections of her ungrateful consort. A new object had found the way to his heart, Glauce the daughter of Creon, a prince of the royal blood who shared with Jason the honours of sovereignty; and to make room for this rival, Medea, though she had borne two sons to Jason, found herself on the point of being divorced from his bed, and sent away into banishment. Stimulated by her wrongs, she made her appeal to the Corinthian people. A party was soon found, who either from pity of her condition, or dislike of the haughty manners of Creon, vigorously asserted her cause; nor were numbers wanting on the other side to combat with equal warmth for Creon. Civil factions seldom know moderate counsels. The sword of war was unsheathed, fortune took part with injustice, and the ill-fated Medea was reduced to the necessity of taking refuge with her children in the temple of Juno, where not even the reverence of the sanctuary was sufficient to check the hand of the assassin, the two young princes being savagely massacred at the very altar of the goddess. What became of Medea, is uncertain. Most probably, if she survived this final overthrow of her house, she dragged her wretched remains of life in obscurity,

AFTER the death of this princess, the same severe fate seems to have pursued her memory. From the proficiency Medea had made in several important



important branches of science, particularly in the **B o o k** study of nature and of the virtues of simples, she **I.** was considered by the age in which she lived as **Sect. 2.** deeply skilled in magical arts; an accusation, to which, in the gloomy days of ignorance, superior knowledge has been often exposed. These magical arts she is charged with having employed for purposes the most criminal: the guilt of the Corinthians became the guilt of Medea: and even the murdering of her children was this unhappy mother said to have perpetrated with her own hands.

THE story does little honour to antiquity. It appears, that in some generations after the melancholy close of Medea's fortunes, the people of Corinth, wishing to remove from the Corinthian name the reproach of this deed of blood, prevailed on Euripides, one of the dramatic writers of Athens, by the offer of a large sum, to employ his talents in favour of Corinth, and to cast the whole guilt of this horrid transaction on Medea. The poet but too industriously performed the part assigned to him. He introduces her in his drama a violent, treacherous, merciless woman, reeking with the blood of her children, and by means of her magical powers executing a dreadful vengeance on Creon and his family. The poet's art has given probability to these dark falsehoods; and not only did Medea live an injured life, her memory also has become the sport of calumny, and bears the infamy of those very crimes to which she herself fell a victim.

BUT we are losing sight of the Argonauts. From Colchis they sailed back to the Trojan shore, in order to receive the rich presents with which Laomedon had stipulated to recompense their late services. The faithless Laomedon answered the requisition with mockery, appearing to have lost all memory of succours which he no longer wanted.

**B o o k** Irritated by this ungenerous return, the Argonauts

**I.** had recourse to arms : they stormed and plundered  
**Sect. 2.** his royal city, and among other prisoners took the king's eldest son and his daughter Hesione. The king's son, known afterwards by the name of Priam, they permitted to be ransomed. Hesione they bestowed, according to the manner of those days, on Telamon prince of Ægina, one of the Argonauts, to whom she bore the famed Ajax.

RICH in spoil, and full of glory, our Grecian adventurers now shaped their course towards Thesfaly. Pelias king of Iolchos, uncle to Jason, had died sometime before they reached Greece : they celebrated his obsequies with great magnificence, their last public act ; after which they hastened away to their several homes, each man to display to his people the splendid rewards which his prowess had won. According to Apollodorus, this whole expedition took up four months only.

To the simplicity and rude state of the antient inhabitants of Greece may we impute many of those legendary tales which disfigure her early history. The various uncouth fictions, which the Greeks have introduced into this Argonautic story, are of a different class. They are evidently the language of national pride ; the offspring of the vanity of the Grecian people. Ambitious to have this first naval attempt of theirs enrolled among the boldest feats that any of the maritime nations had ever performed, they readily adopted every fable, that seemed to add to the dignity of the enterprise, or advance the glory of the champions who had engaged in it.

THIS whole expedition therefore, from its commencement to its period, was said to have been honoured with the immediate superintendency of the several deities of the pagan world. It had the sanction of oracles and the most propitious omens :  
 and

and not only had heaven promised its protection **Book**  
 to these illustrious chieftains ; the gods themselves **I.**  
 personally mixed among them, directing and assist- **Sect. 2.**  
 ing their operations. Jason, on his way to the  
 court of Iolchos to prepare matters for his naval  
 expedition, found himself stopt by a river which  
 had been swelled by mountain floods : the queen  
 of heaven, say the fabulists, appearing to him un-  
 der the disguise of an old woman, received him on  
 her back, and ferried him over. At the pass of  
 the Cyanean islands, the Argo had inevitably been  
 intercepted in the conflict of those tremendous  
 rocks, had not the same divine personage pushed  
 the vessel through, with a velocity such as the ut-  
 most exertion of human strength could not have  
 impressed on it. In one part of their voyage, a  
 devouring whirlpool intervened. Thetis with her  
 sea-nymphs bore up the favourite galley, and trans-  
 mitted it safe. In another part, the Argonauts  
 being at a loss what course to take, the Argo, who  
 from her divine constructress Minerva had received  
 the gift of speech and even the spirit of prophecy,  
 addressed a seasonable monition to the noble ad-  
 venturers, by which they were delivered from  
 their doubt.

THE Argonautic expedition, if recorded by the  
 pen of sober history, had been merely the coasting  
 voyage of certain corsairs, such as were usual in  
 those days, from the shores of Thessaly to Colchis :  
 and all the exploits such a voyage could have ex-  
 hibited had amounted to little more, than the tak-  
 ing possession of some half peopled island, the  
 plundering of an ill-guarded town, or a tumultuary  
 invasion on some unwarlike planters. Grecian va-  
 nity demanded a more pompous narrative.

ACCORDINGLY, hardly was there a part of the  
 African, Asiatic, or European seas, whereof the  
 Greeks had ever heard, in which these Argonau-  
 tic



BOOK **tic** navigators were not said to have made their

**1.** names memorable; nor a peril to be contended

**Sect. 2.** with in any distant land, which they had not had the boldness to encounter. The streights between the two rocks, Calpè and Abyla, which form the entrance of the Mediterranean, were, in that infancy of their art, the seamen's terror: the Argo had sailed through them. Lybia had her quicksands, never known to be approached but at the expence of life: the Argonauts had been there, and had escaped. On the Italic coast dwelt the celebrated Syrens, female enchanters, whose employment it was to entice ashore by the sweetness of their singing whatever mariners happened to sail near them. To yield to the enticement was certain destruction: yet such was the captivating power of their melody, that of all who had heard them there was not one that had not yielded. The Argonauts nevertheless sailed close by this place of danger, and though attempted by all the allurements which these daughters of harmony had to display, withstood the charm. The narrow strith dividing Sicily from Italy was, in those days of fable, fraught with death: the Scylla on the one side, on the opposite the Charybdis, two hideous monsters, opened the jaws of destruction, either of them, to as many as strove to avoid the other. Our undaunted seamen approached the passage, and shot through without receiving any mischief. Even on the most trivial incident fiction bestowed such a dress, as made it bear the appearance of a miracle. Every molehill of difficulty grew into a mountain: every foe was a giant, a forcerer, some creature of form strange and dreadful. The enemies from whose insults they rescued the old Phineus were winged, with the faces indeed of virgins, but armed with the claws of birds of prey. The pest against whom they displayed so much intrepidity

trepidity in the cause of Laomedon was a sea monster, some potentate probably in possession of a naval force. To enhance the glory of these achievements, the Argo alone was employed in them, no other vessel sharing the labour with her: and yet her whole complement of men amounted only to fifty-four; but all of high birth and princely accomplishments, many of them the sons of gods, from whose exertions therefore every thing great and noble was to be expected.

EVEN the consigning to future ages the fame of the illustrious galley, by the help of which all these wonders had been effected, was deemed an employment of too much consequence to be entrusted to a mortal. The gods themselves made the immortalizing of the memory of the Argo their own work, by giving her a place among the constellations.

FROM the multiplicity of fables therefore, introduced by Grecian vanity into the history of this one expedition, a judgment may be formed, with what degree of caution we should peruse the Grecian records of those remote ages. Some valuable information, however, we may extract with certainty from this very transaction. It appears, that the sons of several of these Argonautic chieftains, and even some of the Argonauts themselves, served in the celebrated war of Troy of which Helen was the cause, and that Priam, who had been taken prisoner by the Argonauts, reigned afterwards in Troy, and was living at the final overthrow of the Trojan empire by the allied army of Greece. So that the Argonautic expedition could not have preceded this last Trojan war by much more than thirty years. By fixing therefore the *Æra* of this second taking of Troy, which may be done with a tolerable degree of probability, the times of these Argonautic adventurers, and of the events connected

BOOKED with their history, may be obtained, and a

I. good portion of that obscurity be removed, with  
Sect. 2. which the chronology of the Greeks is clouded over.

SHORTLY after the return of the Argonauts was the Calydonian chace, of which we have already made mention.

ABOUT ten years had now elapsed since the Argonautic expedition, when the princes of the house of *Ædipus* involved a considerable part of Greece in a bloody domestic war. *Ædipus* was dead. To the misfortunes of that unhappy prince tragedy is indebted for some of the deepest scenes she ever exhibited. There is however reason to suspect, that fiction has bestowed on his story a much darker colouring than belongs to it. From the most respectable of the antient Greek writers it is evident, that his marriage with *Jocasta* (or *Epicastè*, as Homer calls her) and the incestuous progeny said to be born of that horrid union, are the inventions of some fabulist, of which the tragedian has availed himself. The only children that he appears to have had were two sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, and two daughters, *Antigonè* and *Himènè*, all born to him of his queen *Eurygenea*, the daughter of *Hyperphras*, with whom he reigned over the Theban people for many years in great prosperity.

UPON the death of *Ædipus*, both his sons laid claim to the kingdom, and each of them prepared to arm in support of his pretensions. A compromise at length took place under covenant that the two princes should reign year by year alternately. Accordingly *Eteocles* was seated on the Theban throne. But a year's trial of the sweets of royalty so deafened the young prince to the demands of justice, that when his term was expired, he refused to quit possession, thus compelling his brother to vindicate his right by arms, in which he  
was



was assisted, besides other powerful allies, by Book  
 Adrastus king of Argos, whose daughter he had I.  
 married. The war was carried on with all that Sect. 2.  
 fury, with which intestine wars are generally disgraced. The two brothers met in single combat, and fell, both of them together, by the hands of each other. Of those chiefs who fought on the side of Polynices, all, Adrastus only excepted, fell also; and together with them, a considerable part of the Argive army. Revenge gave continuance to hostilities, which ought naturally to have ended with the lives of the two contending princes: and such a virulent hatred against the friends of Polynices did Creon entertain, who now held the reins of government as tutor to Leodamas the son of Eteocles, that he refused the rites of burial to the Argives, and even pushed his inhumanity to such a length, as to cause Antigone, the last surviving child of Œdipus, to be interred alive, because she had privately paid the last duties to the corse of Polynices her brother.

AMONG the Greeks the rites of burial were held in the highest reverence: to have neglected the performing of this office to the brave men who had fallen in the field of war, had been accounted impious. Adrastus therefore, who in the present weak state of his army had not the means of contending with the implacable Theban, was obliged to implore the interposition of the Athenians in behalf of his countrymen. He fled to the altar of *mercy* at Athens. For, to the immortal honour of the Athenian people, they alone of all the Grecians enrolled the genius of mercy among their gods. The Athenians instantly espoused the cause of the suppliant Argives, and sword in hand compelled Creon to grant to the slain a place of interment under Cadmea, the Theban citadel.

THE

BOOK THE severe losses, which Thebes as well as Ar-

I. gos had sustained in the late bloody actions, occa-  
Sect. 2. sioned an intermission of the war, but without putting a final conclusion to it. The same spirit of vengeance continued to animate both nations. As soon therefore as the sons of those leaders who had fallen before Thebes were of age to bear arms, another force more powerful than the former was set on foot, and the war commenced again, called from this circumstance the war of the Epigoni, or Successors. Between this and the former war ten years are supposed to have elapsed. And what is remarkable, as in the first war of Thebes of all the confederate princes Adrastus alone escaped with life, so in the other the only allied prince that was slain was Ægialeus the son of Adrastus.

THE issue of this war was peculiarly distressful to the Thebans. Creon was no more. Leodamas, the last prince of the line of Eteocles, fell in battle, and with him the choicest of their warriors. Exhausted by discomfiture and repeated calamities, the remains of this afflicted people embraced the resolution of escaping with their wives and children from the place of their nativity into Thessaly. Thebes thus deserted was peopled again by the exiles who had engaged in the cause of Polynices, at whose head was placed Thersander the son of Polynices. This is the prince who, leading his Thebans to the celebrated war of Troy, was slain in Mysia by Telephus, before he had reached the Trojan territories. His immediate successor Peneleus fell by the hand of Eurypylus the son of Telephus. Tisamenus, son of Thersander, succeeded, and after a short reign left the royal seat to Antefion his son. But haunted by the vengeful furies, who, say the Grecian writers, still continued to pursue the ill-fated race of Œdipus, Antefion by the counsel of an oracle resigned his

his crown and country, to end his days in the territory of the Dorians. The real truth seems to have been, that the Thebans grown weary of kingly government, which they saw universally quitted by their neighbours, and desirous of adopting the republican form, were glad to find an excuse for the change in the miseries this unfortunate line of kings were supposed to have brought on them.



## B O O K II.

## SECTION I.

Book II. Sect. I. **O**F all the antient chieftains, whose exploits, real or fabled, adorn pagan story, there is not one, whom Greece hath honoured more highly than her boasted Hercules, or on whom, if in her own records truth is to be found, those honours have been bestowed more improperly. The history of this extraordinary personage demands attention.

GRECIAN mythology tells us, that Hercules was the son of Jupiter by Alcmena, whom the god deceived by assuming the form of her husband Amphytrion. The intrigues of this truant deity had often provoked the wrath of the queen of heaven. But never had she been more exasperated than she now was. Even before Hercules was born, he was the object of the jealous Juno's implacable hatred;

tered : she would have stifled him in the birth ; **B o o k**  
 and when born, he had inevitably been destroyed **II.**  
 by two huge serpents which the goddesses sent against **Sect. I.**  
 him, had not the natural vigour of this wonderful  
 infant enabled him to seize the monsters in his  
 grasp, and to strangle them. As he grew up, his  
 strength and courage encreased with his years.  
 The vengeance of the goddesses however ceased not  
 to pursue him, by which he was compelled to sub-  
 mit to a number of severe injunctions, intended  
 by her to work his destruction, but which his  
 dauntless spirit converted into so many instruments  
 of his glory.

**GREECE** at this time was fruitful of monsters.  
 In the Nemean forest, on the way to Cleone from  
 Argos, reigned a lion of enormous size and fierce-  
 ness, whose hide was not penetrable by any wea-  
 pon. The lake Stymphalis in Arcadia was infested  
 with a multitude of birds, of a strange form and  
 rapacious kind, the terror of all the neighbouring  
 villagers. In another part of Arcadia, on mount  
 Erymanthus, was a furious boar, the ravager of  
 the country around, whom the boldest huntsman  
 durst not approach. The fens of Lerna near My-  
 cenæ were the residence of a many-headed ser-  
 pent, from every one of whose mouths a deadly  
 poison issued, and wherever one of its heads was  
 cut off, two new ones sprang up in the place of it.  
 These several prodigies Hercules was required to  
 encounter : he obeyed, and was victorious. Other  
 enterprises equally hazardous followed : he was  
 victorious still. No adventure so arduous, which  
 he was not ready to attempt, even though not  
 called to it by divine command. No labour so dif-  
 ficult, which he was not able to surmount. When  
 the Argonauts sailed, he sailed with them. When  
 the Grecian worthies sallied forth to the Calydo-  
 nian chace, he was among the foremost.

BOOK NOR were his mighty achievements confined to

II. Greece, or to those expeditions in which Greece

SECT. I. had concern. From one extremity of the habitable world to the other his prowess was exerted. Wherever he heard of a danger, thither he hastened. In whatever land any of the sons of violence were said to be, he marched against them. In Libya was the giant Antæus, who compelled all that passed by his place of abode to wrestle with him, to their certain destruction: the Earth was his mother, and as long as he touched his parent earth, his vigour was inexhaustible—Hercules engaged in combat with him, raised him off the earth, and slew him. Diomed, king of Thrace, was wont to nourish his horses with human flesh—Hercules gave the barbarian to be destroyed as he had destroyed others. Busiris reigned in Egypt: he sacrificed to his gods whatever strangers presumed to enter his dominions—Hercules bid him defiance, seized the tyrant in the midst of his court, and offered him as a victim on his own impious altars. In the gardens of the Hesperides, or princesses of the western world, the trees were laden with fruits of gold; and to watch this treasure was the task of an invulnerable dragon with an hundred heads—Hercules nevertheless found means to elude the vigilance of this formidable adversary, and carried off the golden spoil. Such was the gigantic stature of Atlas king of Mauritania, that the gods caused the heavens to rest on his shoulders—Hercules relieved him from his laborious charge, and during a whole day bore up the celestial vault in his stead. What Cadiz now is, was the island Erytheia in antient days. In that island reigned a wealthy and potent prince, the three-bodied Geryon: his herds especially were of immense value; they were cloathed with hair of a rich purple tint, and a tremendous two-headed mastiff, the offspring of the



the monster Typhon, was employed to guard them—Hercules triumphed over every opposition, II. slew this triple king, and drove off his captive Sect. 1. herds. And that a lasting monument of his exploits in this remote region of the earth might remain to generations to come, he erected the two massy rocks now to be seen at the mouth of the Mediterranean, thence called by the pagan nations the Pillars of Hercules. On his return homeward, he took his way through that part of Italy where Vesuvius stands, named in Grecian story the Phlegræan fields, or fields of fire, from that antient Volcano doubtless: there in those days a fierce nation of giants dwelt, whose delight was bloodshed—the intrepid Hercules advanced against them, slew most of them, and compelled the remainder to consult their safety by flight.

FROM all these magnificent actions, together with many others, equally splendid, with which the Grecian writers have emblazoned the history of their favourite hero, we should be apt to conceive, that the illustrious personage who atchieved them must have been animated with every noblest sentiment, and have exhibited to Greece a pattern of the most exalted virtue. The records of antiquity with united voice attest the contrary. The domestic life of the mighty Hercules appears to have been marked with every crime that denominates the ruffian. One of his first exploits was to vitiate the daughters of Thestius prince of Thespis, under whose protecting roof he had been received. Thestius had fifty daughters: Hercules debauched them all—and in one night, the legend adds, to enhance the wonder. Shortly after, Creon king of Thebes bestowed on him his daughter Megara in marriage, in acknowledgment of his services against the Minyæans, a people of Thessaly who had invaded the Theban territories. Megara bore him

**BOOK** him three sons: distempered with passion, or as  
**II.** some pretend, in a fit of frenzy, Hercules slew all  
**SECT. I.** the three. His friend Iphiclus would have interposed: he slew his two sons also. He would then have married Iole, daughter to Eurytus prince of Œchalia; but the father abhorring his violent excesses, refused him: in revenge Hercules perfidiously, and in direct violation of the laws of hospitality, slew Iphitus Iole's brother. Murder, such as this, was even in those barbarous ages considered by the Grecian tribes as a crime exceedingly heinous; and the bloody offender was to undergo certain expiations, before he could be restored to the privileges of society, or admitted to the sacrifices of the gods. Hercules accordingly applied to Neleus king of Pylos, by whom he was denied the expiatory rites, his guilt appearing too great for expiation. Neleus and eleven of his sons perished under the hands of the exasperated Hercules, Nestor only, the youngest son, escaping by the good fortune of having been at Geranium at some distance from the Pylian court, at the time of this massacre of the Nelean family.

THE expiation of Hercules was now more difficult than ever. The outcast of men, and haunted by the reproaches of his own guilty breast, at length he had recourse to the oracle of Apollo. The god answered, 'that he should be sold as a slave for the space of three years, and the money arising from the sale should be given, as the price of blood, to the kindred of those whom he had slaughtered.' In obedience to the oracle, Hercules was sold to Omphale queen of Lydia. The Lydians at this time were a people exceedingly dissolute; and the palace of the Lydian queen was the abode of the pleasures. The example was not lost on Hercules: the roughness of the champion gradually disappeared, and the conqueror of Ne-

mea was soon softened into the luxurious Asiatic. B o o k  
 He even became the minion of Omphale, who, if II.  
 Lydian chronicles deserve belief, had a son by him. Sect. I.  
 And such was his compliance with the manners of  
 that effeminate court, that he disdained not to  
 wear female apparel, and with a distaff in his  
 hand to take his seat among the damsels of his  
 imperious mistress.

WHEN the years appointed to him by the oracle  
 were expired, he returned to Greece, and took  
 up his residence at Calydon, whose inhabitants he  
 improved in the arts of cultivation, till that time  
 but imperfectly known among them. In particu-  
 lar he taught them to drain their marshy grounds,  
 and to confine the Achelous within its channel,  
 which before was wont to overflow the country.  
 An extraordinary fertility was the fruit of these  
 useful labours, which recommended him to the  
 notice of Œneus the Calydonian king, who re-  
 quited him with the hand of his daughter Deiani-  
 ra\*. This connection however did not put an end  
 to the intrigues of Hercules. Soon after, he  
 would likewise have taken to wife Astydamia,  
 daughter to Amyntas prince of Orchomenus, and  
 asked her of her father. His suit being rejected,  
 he carried away the daughter by violence, and  
 slew the father attempting to rescue her. Augè  
 was the daughter of Alæus an Arcadian prince,  
 between whom and Hercules a strict friendship  
 subsisted: Hercules nevertheless, having met Augè  
 in the fields, despoiled her by force of her chastity.  
 The extraordinary beauty of Astyoche, daughter

\* Thence the fable, that Hercules fought for the princess of Calydon with the god of the river, who in the combat transformed himself into a bull: but Hercules tore off one of his horns, which afterwards became the horn of plenty.



BOOK to Phyleus prince of Ephyra, proved fatal to her

II. royal house: Hercules stormed Ephyra, destroyed Sect. 1. its prince, and forced the unhappy maid to submit to the embraces of her father's murderer. Amidst all these deeds of outrage, our famed adventurer had not forgotten Iolè. He chanced to see her again; his passion revived; and the princes of her house warmly opposing his pretensions, he put her three brothers to the sword after storming their city, took the princess away with him, and as if to make her amends, publicly avowed his purpose of marrying her.

THE forsaken Deianira would bear her injuries no longer. Stung with jealousy, she had long meditated revenge, and under the semblance of preparing for her lord a royal vest curiously wrought, she had insinuated into the robe a subtil and deadly poison. Some remains of love had delayed her purpose; but the tidings of his marriage with Iolè determined her to send off the fatal present. Hercules received it, when he was on the point of celebrating a solemn sacrifice previous to his nuptials: glad of the opportunity, therefore, of displaying his magnificence on that day of joy, he put on the robe, whose effect was dreadful. The poison shot with rapid violence through his whole frame. He suspected the cause, and would have torn the garment from him; but he strove in vain. It had fastened on his flesh, and every effort to disengage him from it added to his agony. At last, in the frenzy of suffering, he ordered a pile of wood to be raised and set on fire, and throwing himself into the midst of it, put a period at once to his misery and life.

How to reconcile these contradictory accounts of the glory and the shame, the weakness and the prowess of this extraordinary personage, whose several achievements, even the most exceptionable  
of

of them, are fully attested by all the authentic records we have of those distant times, is certainly a point of much difficulty. And when it is further considered, that this very personage, in two or three generations after he had closed his course of violences by a death so horrid, was inrolled among the gods of Greece, honoured with temples and sacrifices ; that pompous festivals were instituted to preserve the memory of the wonders he had wrought ; and that it was the pride of the several Grecian tribes, in their days of highest renown both for arts and arms, to point out with fond credulity the places where any of his exploits were said to have been atchieved—the absurdity becomes still the more striking : pagans themselves have acknowledged it.

To what causes are to be ascribed the inconsistencies in the history of this antient chieftain, is therefore a matter well worthy of historical research. These being once laid down, the difficulty will lessen considerably.

I. FROM the enquiries of men of deep erudition it appears, that the name of Hercules, by which our champion is known in Grecian story, in its primary application did not belong to any individual, but was rather a title of honour. Originally it seems to have been of Egyptian extraction, and to have signified Mighty Lord, Prince of strength ; and is supposed to have been the name given by the priests of Egypt to one of those emblematical personages, whom they exhibited in their religious processions. Macrobius contends, that Hercules was the Sun. Very possibly the symbolical representation of that heavenly luminary, from whose revolutions light, warmth, and health are dispensed to this lower world, might have been the prime Hercules of Egypt. Later adulation may have proceeded to ascribe to the

BOOK princes of the earth the like wide-reaching bene-

II. fidence, and honoured them with the same title :

SECT. I. and so what was originally meant to be the Sun, may have become the appellation of some illustrious Ruler, who had been instrumental in advancing the public happiness. Accordingly, Sesostris has been thought by many to be the same with the Egyptian Hercules : his character entitled him to that honour among a grateful people. What was the manner of Egypt, shortly became the manner of other nations. The Phenicians, and the several tribes bordering on the sea of Edom, learned it from her, and in their several commercial excursions diffused it widely, bringing with them, wherever they settled, the same allegorical representations to which they had been accustomed in their own country. Of this fact the early times of Greece afford numberless memorials. So that probably after some ages every pagan people had a Hercules of its own, or at least some deity, though under a different appellation, analogous to the Hercules of Egypt. Cicero numbers six different Hercules. It is likely there were many more. Of the six whom Cicero mentions, certainly far inferior to the other five, in point of antiquity at least, whatever Grecian vanity may have feigned, was the Grecian Hercules, on whose adventures fable has been so lavish of its ornaments. His real history comes within a short compass.

PERSEUS, though enthroned by the fabulists among the constellations, ended his days in mortal guise in his kingdom of Mycenæ, and was succeeded by his son Electryon. Perseus had four other sons, Alcæus, Sthenelus, Helias, and Mestor. Alcæus was father to Amphitryon, on whom Electryon, having no son, intended to bestow the Mycencan throne together with Alcmena his daughter. But Amphitryon had the misfortune

to



to kill the king accidentally ; in consequence of which he was obliged to quit Mycenæ, and to take refuge at the Theban court. Sthenelus, the late king's brother, succeeded, and left his crown to his son Eurystheus. Amphitryon's eldest son by Alcmena was Alcides, known afterwards for his illustrious exploits by the name of Hercules, a title first bestowed on him, it is said, by the oracular priestess of Delphi. From his early youth Alcides was distinguished for great strength of body and a fortitude not to be appalled by any danger. Tillage in those days being little known in Greece, a considerable part of the country was still a woodland, the haunt of various beasts of prey, the exterminating of which was accounted one of the boldest feats in which human valour could be exercised. The young Alcides soon distinguished himself in those perilous sports : the fiercest inmates of the forest sunk under his might ; and there was not an enterprize, however formidable, to which fame did not pronounce him equal. Eurystheus was alarmed. Alcides had a claim to the throne of Mycenæ ; and from a competitor of such ability and spirit the king thought he had every thing to fear. The most effectual method Eurystheus could devise was to draw the young prince to his court, and make him depend on his protection. The priests were set to work. An oracle was obtained, by which Juno required Alcides to observe his royal uncle (so that degree of kindred is denominated by historians) and obey his injunctions ; with a promise from the goddess, that lasting glory should be the reward of his obedience. In those dark ages, the voice of an oracle was a command from heaven. Alcides submitted accordingly, and during a course of years went forth to whatever dangers Eurystheus ordered him to encounter.

BOOK THE most zealous admirer of antiquity must  
 II. however confess, that the state of manners then  
 Sect. I. prevailing throughout Greece does little honour to the heroic ages. While the champion of Mycenæ was thus professedly employed in destroying every fierce ravager, he himself scrupled not to commit the most flagrant acts of cruelty and oppression. He spared neither man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. At last, the fate he had long deserved, overtook him. Jealousy had armed his wife against him—she poisoned him---and furious from the tortures the poison made him feel, he put an end to himself. In spite however of a life and death thus reproachful, his deeds of valour in the estimation of his countrymen atoned for all. As if courage was to sanctify violence, it was forgotten he was guilty, because he had been brave. He was even advanced to divine honours : and Greece did not refuse to place among her gods him, whom she ought to have been ashamed to number among her princes.

Eurystheus appears to have judged of his kinsman more wisely. After some years trial, either provoked by the lawless deeds of Alcides, or doubtful of his purposes, he banished him, together with his mother Alcmena and all his followers, out of the Mycenean territories. And that this branch of the Perseus-family might for ever be excluded from the throne of Mycenæ, he gave his daughter Ærope in marriage to the powerful and wealthy Atreus the son of Pelops, and settled the succession on him and his descendants.

IN this situation were the Mycenean affairs for a considerable time before the death of Alcides : Eurystheus suspicious of the views of that daring chieftain, and avowed in his enmity to him ; Alcides loud in his complaints against the king of Mycenæ,

Mycenæ, and withheld only by Juno's dread com- B o o k  
mands from executing vengeance on him. II.

ALCIDES, at the time of his death, had a pow- Sect. 1.  
erful party among the Grecian states. The vain-  
glorious Greeks would have it believed, that in  
the atchieving of his several exploits he was single.  
Historic truth speaks a different language. It ap-  
pears that the Dorians from mount Œta, with a  
mixed multitude of adventurers from Arcadia,  
from Boeotia, from Attica, and other parts of  
Greece, had enlisted under the banners of this  
spirited leader, had shared in his dangers, and, in  
his quarrel with the royal house of Mycenæ, had  
adopted his resentments. Their zeal for the interests  
of his family was not extinguished by his death.  
Hyllus, his eldest son by the princess of Calydon,  
was encouraged to attempt the recovery of a king-  
dom, from which nothing but the religion of the  
times had excluded his father; and he soon found  
himself strong enough to take the field against Eu-  
rystheus. The issue was fatal to the latter: he  
fell; and Hyllus had now been seated on the throne  
of Mycenæ, had not superstition, the faithful  
ally of the house of Eurystheus, interposed again.  
A contagious distemper had broken out in the ar-  
my of Hyllus. The priests declared, that the  
gods disapproved of this bold invasion, and that  
unless Hyllus and his associates waited for *the third*  
*fruits*, they must not expect to recover the king-  
dom they were claiming. The divine mandate was  
not to be disobeyed. Hyllus retired. And Atreus  
in right of his wife, the daughter of Eurystheus,  
remained in peaceable possession of the regal prize.  
The third fruits seemed to signify the third year.  
On the third year therefore, in full confidence  
that he had now fulfilled the will of heaven, Hyllus  
returned. But by this time Atreus had  
strengthened himself; and Hyllus, who foresaw  
that



B o o k that the contest must be bloody, proposed to leave  
 II. the decision of it to select combat, offering himself  
 Sect. I. as one of the champions. The event however  
 was not favourable to this generous prince. Hyllus  
 was slain.

THE evasive arts of the pagan oracles are well known. The death of Hyllus seemed to upbraid the oracular god. The priests had an answer at hand---‘ the sense of the oracle had been mistaken : ‘ by *the third fruits* was to be understood, not ‘ *the third year*, but *the third generation*.’ Three generations, according to the computation of those days, made an hundred years. If therefore the princes of the house of Alcides were content to wait the appointed time of an hundred years, the gods, they might rest assured, had destined them the victory.

THE answer was discouraging. The friends of the children of Alcides were not to be discouraged. Hitherto the religion of the times had been against them : they were resolved it should not be against them any longer. Their first care was to consecrate the memory of the illustrious personage, the claims of whose family they were labouring to establish, and to render it the object of general veneration. His public services were magnified ; his achievements set off with every circumstance the most likely to excite the wonder, and command the reverence, of an ignorant multitude. To make the impression the more effectual, the aid of all the holy fictions of which that age admitted was called in. Jupiter was his father : the god had acknowledged him, and often had his special protection been visibly exerted in his behalf. The vengeance of the jealous Juno had indeed pursued him : but, in compensation for that, other deities had made him their favourite care. His dress and part of his armour were the gifts of  
 Minerva ;

Minerva; Vulcan had presented him with a breast-plate, Mercury with a sword, Apollo with arrows. Raised by all these ideal decorations above mortal rank, he was no longer the son of Amphitryon, but a being of divine origin, and therefore not unworthy of divine honours. His human name of Alcides had already been changed, by the sacred award of the Delphic priestess, into the august appellation of Hercules. The Hercules of other nations had his place among the immortals: and why not the Hercules of Greece? It was true, his intrigues and violences cast some blemish on his divinity. But as he had done, had not Jupiter, had not Apollo, had not Mercury, done also?

WHAT was partly the suggestion of national vanity, found a powerful support from superstition. Visions appeared, and oracles were uttered, which announced him a god. The numerous progeny of the mortal Alcides encouraged an opinion, which, according to the notions then prevalent, exalted them to the most honourable distinction. And those who had engaged in their cause gladly assisted in strengthening a belief, with which their interests were so nearly connected.

II. NATIONAL pride, and the ignorance of a superstitious age, had co-operated with the ambition of Alcmena's family in transforming the Theban Alcides into the Hercules of Greece. An important revolution which happened in some few years after, and which overthrew most of the Peloponnesian thrones, seems to have given to this new divinity the distinguished place he soon held among the Grecian gods.

ABOUT eighty years after the Trojan war, the tribe of the Dores, steady in their attachment to the Herculean family, revived in their behalf the claim formerly preferred by Hyllus to the kingdom

**BOOK** dom of Mycenæ, and entered Peloponnesus in arms. Four princes of the Herculean line, descendants of Hyllus, led them on. Every circumstance favoured the present attempt. The intervention of three generations-- the tales of fiction, which in the era of credulity always enlarge in their progress--the artifices of party--all conspired to give uncommon dignity to men who boasted their descent from the deified Hercules. The hundred years of the oracle were elapsed. The Dorians were become more powerful than ever. And together with them were joined, not only other Grecian tribes, antiently friends to the Herculean interests, but also a mingled company, who from hopes of better fortune boldly took a share in the adventurous enterprise.

At the same time, the princes of the house of Pelops, who inherited the dominions Eurystheus had held, had lost much of their pristine splendor. They extended their sway indeed over a considerable length, being masters of Sparta and the southern provinces of Peloponnesus, in addition to the kingdom of Mycenæ. But wasted by wars, and still more by intestine divisions and treason, they now maintained a languishing and diminished sovereignty.

THE consequence was a rapid and total revolution throughout Peloponnesus. The conquerors possessed themselves with little opposition of the several kingdoms which had obeyed the house of Pelops; and not content with the submission of the old inhabitants, they cast them out entirely, seizing with unsparing hand on their cities, villages, plantations, and whatever they had been possessed of. The Dorians especially, who from their superior numbers obtained the ascendant every where, introduced a total change in the very manners and language of this part of Greece. The Æolic dialect



dialect had hitherto prevailed among the Pelopon- B o o k  
nesian states: it was supplanted by the Doric. The II.  
Dorians were a plain, and rather a rough people. Sect. I.  
This plainness became now the characteristic of  
most of the Peloponnesian tribes; their dress,  
their architecture, and even their music, assum-  
ing from this time much of the Doric simplicity.

THIS irruption of the Dorians into Peloponnesus  
forms a memorable era in the affairs of Greece,  
and is known in history by the name of *the Return*  
*of the Heraclidæ*.

UNDER a succession therefore of princes who  
during a length of ages filled the Peloponnesian  
thrones, many of them with a lustre equal to that  
of the foremost names on the lists of time, and  
whose pride it was to look up to Hercules as the  
founder of their race—under a people prepossessed  
in favour of a hero, the leader of their ancestors in  
the paths of glory—it is easy to conceive, how cre-  
dulously every fable that did honour to their deified  
worthy must have been listened to, and how am-  
bitiously supported. The orator, the poet, found  
an interest in celebrating exploits, which shed a  
brightness on the princes of their own time. Every  
vague tradition was improved into real history;  
and whatever great and glorious deeds were as-  
cribed to the Hercules of any other people, the  
national partiality of Grecian writers made the  
exclusive property of their own Hercules.

THE death of the Theban Hercules happened  
about twenty years before the last war of Troy, a  
short time before the first Theban war.

We have anticipated events, in order to close  
the account of this extraordinary personage. We  
shall now resume the thread of our history.

## B O O K II.

## SECTION II.

B o o k II. **D**URING the period of which we have been  
 Sect. 2. speaking, important changes had taken place  
 in the Athenian fortune. Under the administration of the sage Erechtheus, civility and the arts of peace had, as we have seen, made a considerable progress among the tribes of Attica. His sons were not instructed by his example: intestine feuds and the contests of ambition disgraced the reigns that followed. On the death of Erechtheus, Cecrops, his first-born, whom he had appointed to reign after him, was driven from the throne by his brother Metion, and died in exile at Nisa, a city on the Attic borders, since known by the name of Megara. Pandion, the son of Cecrops,  
 after

after a fruitless attempt to eject the usurper, ended B o o k  
 his days likewise in banishment. His son, who II.  
 also was called Pandion, had better success : not- Sect. 2.  
 withstanding a sharp opposition from the Metio-  
 nidæ, he recovered the kingdom, and divided it  
 at his death among his four sons, bequeathing  
 Athens to his eldest Ægeus, whilst to the other  
 three, Nisus, Pallas, and Lycus, he assigned  
 small, but independent principalities. The con-  
 sequences of this ill-judged policy were soon felt.  
 Pallas was ambitious ; he had a numerous issue,  
 and his brother Ægeus was childless. Proud there-  
 fore of his domestic strength, the younger brother  
 treated Ægeus with an insolence, which too plainly  
 spoke his purpose of arrogating to himself the  
 throne of Athens.

SUCH was the posture of affairs in this state,  
 when Androgeos, son to Minos of Crete, visited  
 Athens. The Cretan monarch we have already  
 mentioned. The extensive empire he held over  
 the insular part of Greece, the reputation of his  
 laws, the influence he had in several of the Gre-  
 cian cities, the vicinity of Crete to the Grecian  
 continent, all conspired to make him a powerful  
 friend, or a formidable enemy. Pallas and his  
 faction were not wanting to themselves on this  
 opportunity of forming a connection with the  
 royal house of Crete. An intercourse of attenti-  
 ons took place between them and the young  
 prince, of so decided a nature, that the Athenian  
 king took the alarm at it. He had long suspected  
 Pallas of treasonable views. What had been sus-  
 picion was now certainty : and justified, as he  
 weakly thought, by his jealous fears, Ægeus in  
 violation of all law caused Androgeos to be assassi-  
 nated. This deed of violence involved Athens in  
 a ruinous war.



**BOOK** THE Cretan monarch, the instant he heard of  
 II. his son's death and the perfidious manner of it,  
 Sect. 2. hastened to attack the Athenians with all his  
 forces, and notwithstanding a vigorous opposition  
 made himself master of Nisa, the royal seat of Ni-  
 sus brother to Ægeus, whence he advanced di-  
 rectly to Athens. Dismay and distracted councils  
 seemed to prepare him an easy victory. The sea-  
 sons had proved remarkably inclement and sickly ;  
 so that, in addition to the horrors of war, the  
 Athenians had the visitations of famine and pesti-  
 lence to contend with. These severe calamities  
 obliged Ægeus to seek relief by enquiring of the  
 oracle, the usual resource of those days, whose an-  
 swer was, ' that he must appease Minos.' Peace  
 at length was granted to him, on the intercession  
 of Æacus king of Ægina, but on the rigorous  
 condition, that the Athenians should deliver up to  
 the Cretan king seven of their young men and  
 seven of their maidens, and every ninth year pay  
 him the like tribute.

THE remainder of the history of Minos, and of  
 this portion of the Athenian annals, has been so  
 strangely disfigured by the various fables, which  
 Athenian pride or resentment, together with the  
 love of the marvellous inherent in the Grecian peo-  
 ple, have thrown in, that it is often difficult to se-  
 parate the authentic record from the tale of fiction.

SOME time before the Cretan war, Ægeus had  
 privately wedded Æthra the daughter of Pittheus  
 prince of Trœzen, a small principality on the  
 eastern coast of Peloponnesus. Dread of the Pal-  
 lantidæ had induced the king to conceal a mar-  
 riage, which by defeating their hopes might have  
 provoked some outrage. He soon left Trœzen ;  
 but gave it in charge to Æthra, that if the child  
 with which she was pregnant should prove a son,  
 she should educate him in the utmost privacy till he

he was of years and strength sufficient to attempt B o o k  
 hardy enterprise, when she was to send him to II.  
 Athens to be acknowledged by his father. For a Sect. 2.  
 proof of the boy's vigour, Ægeus deposited his  
 sword and his sandals under a great rock, which  
 the son was to remove with his own hand, and to  
 bring his father the things he had concealed under  
 it. Æthra was faithful to the instructions she had  
 received. The child, whom she named Theseus,  
 she brought up, without suffering it to be known  
 whose son he was: but the superstition of the age  
 easily found him a father. Træzen lying on the  
 sea shore, its princess well deserved to have the mo-  
 narch of the deep for her gallant. Accordingly,  
 from the god Neptune, said popular opinion,  
 Theseus had the honour of deriving his parent-  
 age.

WHEN of years to execute what Ægeus expected  
 of his son, Æthra entrusted Theseus with the se-  
 cret of his birth, and the young prince set off for  
 Athens. His journey thither was a course of ad-  
 ventures. This part of Greece being still in an  
 uncivilized state, the road to Attica was infested  
 with men of violence, living by spoil, who often  
 way-laid the unwary traveller. Theseus had heard  
 what feats his kinsman, the son of Alcmena, had  
 performed; emulous of whose glory, he resolved  
 to try his prowess against these pests of society. At  
 Epidaurus, through which he must pass on his  
 journey towards Attica, dwelt the terrible giant  
 Periphetes. Vulcan was his father: accordingly  
 it was his pride to wield a ponderous iron mace,  
 every blow of which was certain death. Theseus  
 wrenched this weapon of destruction out of his  
 hands, and slew him. On the narrow Isthmus,  
 leading from southern into northern Greece, the  
 robber Sinis had fixed his abode. Such was his  
 strength, that he could bend down, till they met  
 together,

BOOK together, the toughest branches of the most stubborn pines, to which it was his sport to attach the legs and arms of such as had the misfortune to fall into his power, and then to tear the wretches asunder by giving liberty to the branches to recoil. As he had done to others, Theseus did to him.

Surnamed  
Procrustes.

The cruel Damastes, of the race of the giants, was the terror of Eleusis. The instrument of torture which he employed was called his bed: on this he bound his captives; if they were longer than the bed, he lopped their limbs; if shorter, he stretched them by a rack, till they were of equal length with it. It is almost superfluous to add, that this bed was made his *death-bed*.

AFTER a multitude of exploits of this kind, he reached Athens, produced the pledges of his birth, and was received by Ægeus as his son. The Pallantidæ would have had recourse to arms: but supported by the gallant Theseus, the fame of whose achievements had gone before him, the king had effectually overawed the insurgents,

It was now the year of tribute; and for the third time every parent in Athens awaited in dreadful suspense the decision of the fatal lot, which might deliver up his darling child to the vengeance of the Cretan monarch. In this season of distress, the public voice was loud against Ægeus: 'his had been the guilt, and yet he alone was exempted from the punishment.' Theseus heard the complaint, and generously resolved to remove it. Of his own accord he offered, without any lot, to go on this perilous errand, pledging himself that he would relieve the country from the ignominious exaction, or perish in the attempt.

In what manner the Cretan had disposed of the several hapless tributaries who had been hitherto sent to meet his wrath, it is no easy matter at this day to pronounce. Were the testimony of Grecian



cian fable to be admitted, their doom had been rigorous indeed. The implacable Minos, immediately on their arrival in Crete, had confined them in his Labyrinth, a building consisting of mazy windings of so artful a contrivance, that whosoever once passed within its enclosure, could never find his way out of it again, unless guided by some person well acquainted with its intricacies. In this place of horrors was the Minotaur, a fierce and hideous monster, half-man, half-bull, whose favourite prey was human flesh: and to him the merciless tyrant abandoned the Athenian hostages to be devoured.

A TALE so improbable, and so little consistent with the other parts of the character and conduct of Minos, fixes reproach rather on the relaters than on the king. To swell the measure of dishonour to a prince who had humbled Athens, the historians of that country even feigned, that the Minotaur was born of the Cretan's own consort Pasiphae, the most abandoned of women, say the fabulists, of whose lustful excesses the gods declared their abhorrence by causing her to bring forth this unnatural progeny.

SEVERAL antient writers have however given a much more temperate account of the fate of the Athenian captives. By the testimony of Aristotle, Minos respected their lives, contenting himself with dooming them to bondage, as the manner then was of treating prisoners taken in war. Philocorus, an old writer quoted by Plutarch, is authority for affirming, that games were instituted by the king of Crete to the memory of his son Androgeos, at which the victors had these captives distributed among them. A vague tradition is preserved by the same Philocorus, that at these games the Athenian youths were admitted to share in the Agonistic sports, and if victorious, were

**B**ook rewarded with liberty : but this can hardly find  
 II. belief. Very probably, slavery was their portion.  
 Sect. 2. And from the exceeding wretchedness to which a  
 life of servitude, under an inhuman master especially, must be subject, and to which the free  
 and lofty Athenian spirit could not fail to give  
 the deepest colouring, we may easily account for  
 those exaggerated stories of Cretan guilt which  
 angry Athens has sent abroad.

**B**UT whatever were the difficulties that Theseus  
 had to encounter, this part of his story is not  
 much to the honour of his prowess. To a love  
 intrigue he was indebted for his preservation.  
 Ariadne the daughter of Minos had seen the Athe-  
 nian prince, and conceived a passion for him.  
 Instructed by her, or (in the language of fable)  
 having received from her hands a clue by which  
 he was guided through all the mazes of the Laby-  
 rinth, he escaped from his prison, and afterwards,  
 with the help of Dædalus, carried away Ariadne  
 out of Crete.

**D**ÆDALUS was an artist, whose improvements  
 in architecture and statuary are much celebrated  
 in Grecian story. The Cretan Labyrinth, and  
 most of the noble structures which adorned early  
 Crete, are supposed to have been his works. He  
 was also the first among the Greeks, who added  
 feet to his statues, and gave them the finished hu-  
 man form : whence, according to the language of  
 wonder natural to a rude people, his statues were  
 said to be endowed with the power of self-motion.  
 Originally an Athenian, of the royal line of Erech-  
 theus, a flagrant crime of which he had been  
 guilty had obliged him to leave Athens. Talus,  
 his sister's son, a youth of the most promising ge-  
 nius, had raised himself to the public notice by  
 the invention of those useful instruments, the saw  
 and the compasses. A mean jealousy of his rising  
 fame

fame instigated Dædalus to contrive his death, who thereupon dreading the punishment due to such a deed of violence, took refuge at the Cretan court. Minos loved the arts, and was happy to honour with every kind of encouragement a man, whose labours gave splendor to his kingdom. But amidst all this royal favour, Dædalus still cherished an attachment to his native soil. Theseus also was his kinsman: and compassion to the young prince, together with the solicitations of the fond Ariadne, made the Athenian artist forget what he owed to his benefactor.

By the help of a pair of artificial wings, says the fable, which he had found out the secret of framing and fitting to his shoulders, Dædalus escaped out of Crete into the island of Sicily. The truth was, he had prepared a light frigate furnished with *sails*, an invention not yet familiar to the Greeks, which enabled him to outstrip the Cretan fleet drawn out to pursue him. Resentment however urged on Minos to follow him to the Sicilian shore. But the Sicilians, unwilling to part with Dædalus, amused the Cretan king with the offer of an amicable conference, and (if dependance may be had on the uncertain records of those remote times) having prevailed on Minos to land, they treacherously destroyed him. These latter fortunes of this prince, so different from what might naturally have been expected to attend the illustrious lawgiver of the Cretan people, together with the infamy which vindictive Athens has affixed on him and his royal house, have induced writers to suppose, that the legislator of Crete and the father of Androgeos could not be the same person, but that the one Minos was grandson of the other. Plato thought otherwise: And in this walk of history we can hardly follow a guide more respectable. To the invectives of his



B o o k countrymen that impartial sage makes no scruple

II. of ascribing the obloquy under which this prince's

Sect. 2. memory has laboured. Such is the virulence of satire! This monarch, who, if he had not offended Athens, had certainly been recorded among the wisest and best princes that ever filled a throne, is transformed into a gloomy sanguinary tyrant, and the name of his royal consort is with like malignity consigned to lasting infamy.

MEAN while Theseus had reached Athens, after some adventures on which pagan fiction has not failed to bestow its usual embellishments. In his course from Crete he lost his consort Ariadne, who died a natural death on the island Dia, since called Naxos, in the Ægean sea. This incident, seemingly of little importance to the historic page, has proved a fruitful theme in the hands of the fabulists. According to them, Ariadne was forsaken here by the false Theseus, and had perished inevitably, had not Bacchus, the tutelary deity of the island, hastened to the relief of the deserted fair. She became the favourite mistress of the god of vintage, who in testimony of his fondness presented her with a crown enriched with gems of highest price, translated in after times by the same passionate lover to the heavens, where the Grecian astronomer was wont to shew to the gazing multitude a cluster of stars, which he affirmed to be the crown of Ariadne.

FROM Naxos, in consequence of a vow he had made before he left Athens, Theseus sailed to Delos, to pay his offerings of thanksgiving at the Delian altars. This act of piety gave birth to one of the most revered celebrations of the Athenian people, continued by them annually to the last days of their commonwealth, as a memorial of the deliverance Athens had obtained from the Cretan servitude. It was customary to send the offerings

ings on this occasion in the same galley which had B o o k conveyed Theseus to and from Crete; and in II. such veneration was this sacred vessel held by the Sect. 2. people, and preserved by continual repairs, that near eight hundred years after, in the days of Demetrius Phalereus, the very individual galley in which Theseus sailed was still employed in the annual visit to Delos. The whole city was supposed to participate in the holy solemnity, and to be under a kind of consecration; so that, from the time the priest crowned the Delian vessel on its departure to the time of its return, it was even accounted impiety to put a criminal to death. The history of Socrates furnishes a memorable instance of it.

THESEUS now entered Athens: but his return was fatal to the aged king. In the perturbation of mind natural to a person who beheld again his native shores after so many difficulties and troubles, the prince forgot a promise his father had solemnly exacted from him, that if he returned with safety, he would order white sails to be appended to his vessel, instead of the black colours which she used to hang out on her departure. The omission cost Ægeus his life. On the first tidings that the long expected vessel was in sight, the old king hastened to the summit of a promontory, from which observing no change in the accustomed gloomy ensigns of death, he sunk into the sea below, and perished.

THE undisputed succession of Theseus was however the consequence of this sudden vacancy of the throne of Athens. The hostile faction of the Pallantidæ, taken by surprise, had not leisure to resume their ambitious projects, but saw themselves obliged to give way to a prince, in whom a whole people beheld their deliverer from an ignominious yoke, and who was received with transports

BOOK ports of gratitude and joy by the parents of those  
 II. lately recovered children whom they had so long  
 Sect. 2. bewailed as lost.

THE first care of Theseus, on assuming the reins of power, was to reform the constitution of the Athenian state. Cecrops, as we have seen, with the view of extending the advantages of good government through his infant kingdom, had invested certain of the towns of Attica with particular privileges, assigning to each its peculiar magistrates and laws. By an abuse natural to delegated authority, these municipal lords had grown up into oppressors of the people, and even controulers of their kings. To reduce the power of these turbulent chiefs, and at the same time to improve the public strength by forming one community of the now divided inhabitants of Attica, Theseus, suppressing the several rural judicatures, ordained, that the Prytaneum, or great judicatory of Athens, should be the general court to which all his subjects should have recourse. The people had not hitherto enjoyed any share in the legislature. By his appointment, every freeborn Athenian of adult age was now admitted into the national councils. But that a due subordination might be preserved, he divided the members of the commonwealth into three classes, the nobles, the husbandmen, and the artisans. To the nobles all the honours of station and more important operations of government were assigned, the care of religion, the offices of magistracy, the protecting of the laws. The husbandmen had the advantage of wealth, the artisans that of numbers. So that a balance of power was established, and in the determination of all questions the consent of the three orders was necessary. To conciliate the minds of the nobles to these humbling innovations, Theseus generously gave up a considerable portion of that prerogative which had been enjoyed by his royal predecessors;



predecessors : in war only, he said, he would require an absolute submission to his orders ; but in time of peace they should find him as obedient to the ordinances of his country, as the lowest of his fellow-citizens. B o o k II. Sect. 2.

As in Greece the great sanction of every political institution was some religious festive solemnity, which both flattered the superstition and indulged the taste of that people for public spectacles, Theseus neglected not so important an instrument for endearing to his subjects his novel establishments. The Panathenæa, or feast of the united states of Attica, was appointed to be observed annually with a profusion of costly victims, and with that captivating accompaniment of music, dance and song, and agonistic contests, customary to Greece in her public festivities. Every fifth year it was celebrated, by order of the founder, with a vast encrease of magnificence, which in time became such, as to draw spectators from all parts of Greece to the pompous shew, and to give to this celebration a place among the most splendid of Grecian solemnities.

THE internal peace of his kingdom being secured by these sage regulations, Theseus had the pleasure of observing so considerable a rise in the value of land in Attica, as to make it necessary for him to ascertain its boundaries with a precision unknown to the ruder ages. Accordingly, on that side of Attica, adjoining Peloponnesus, where from the encreasing power and enterprising spirit of the Peloponnesian states encroachments were most to be apprehended, he erected a pillar, a kind of memorial familiar to antient times, on the eastern side of which he inscribed, THIS IS IONIA, NOT PELOPONNESUS, and on the western, THIS IS PELOPONNESUS, NOT IONIA. This venerable monument subsisted  
above

B o o k above a thousand years after, to the days of Plutarch.

Sect. 2. THE remainder of the history of this Athenian prince, like the history of most of the Grecian leaders of early times, is a strange exhibition either wholly, or in a great measure, fabulous. In the romantic adventures of the Argonauts, the Calydonian chase, the wars of the Centaurs, if Greece may be credited, he was among the boldest of her champions. But of all his deeds of renown, the most celebrated was his victory over the Amazons. This was a nation of women, of Scythian race, whose sole occupation was war, by their ability in which strange profession, unaided by man, they had erected a formidable state on the banks of the Thermodon, near the eastern coast of the Euxine sea, where they had long bid defiance to the most powerful princes of Asia. Whether such an empire ever existed, is matter of question: the judicious Strabo doubts it. Women there certainly have been, especially in the infancy of civilization, who, called forth by public distress, and in defence of their dearest connections, have adventured into the field of war, and borne an active part in the most gallant achievements of their tribe. And perhaps, from the exaggerations of ignorance, these occasional bands of female combatants may have been magnified into a political establishment of warrior-women. More than this sober history will not venture to warrant.

THE fable of the Amazonian war has however given rise to a train of fictions, of which the tragic muse hath availed herself with great success. Antiope, one of the Amazons, made prisoner by Theseus, captivated her conqueror, and at Athens bore him a son, called Hippolytus. Elegance of form in this young prince was matched with the strictest purity of mind; from his early years he devoted

devoted himself to the service of the chaste goddess of the forests, and like her knew no pleasures but those of the chase. Mean while Theseus had wedded Phædra, daughter to the Cretan Minos, who forgetful of the wrongs of the deserted Ariadne, disdained not to share the bed of the Athenian king. Phædra saw Hippolytus with the eyes of unlawful passion, solicited and was rejected by him with horror, in revenge transferred her own guilt to the prince, and accused him to his father of an attempt upon her honour. Theseus, in the violence of sudden resentment, claimed a promise he had obtained from the god of the sea, in whom he had ever reposed the greatest confidence, that he would grant him whatever boon he should desire; and he besought Neptune to punish his son. The reluctant deity, faithful to his promise, caused a hideous monster to issue from the deep, as the young hero was riding in his chariot along the sea shore, at sight of which his couriers were so terrified, that springing over the adjacent rock, they shivered the chariot, and tore to pieces the unhappy Hippolytus. Phædra, stung with remorse, laid violent hands on herself. It is evident, that the greater part of this story, if not the whole of it, is to be ascribed to the inventive genius of Athens. That Phædra had Minos for her father, was perhaps the only guilt of this Cretan princess.

It was the delight of the vain-glorious Greeks to bestow the brightest colouring on every the most trivial exploit of the founders or improvers of their several states, exalting by the help of splendid fictions those favourite personages into somewhat above mortal condition. To Theseus fable has been more sparing of her favours. Many of his adventures have a reproachful cast, and his last close of fortune especially was inglorious. We shall give it, as recorded by the antient annalists,  
and

BOOK  
II.  
SECT. 2.



B o o k and at the same time shall try to account for the se-

II. verity with which they have treated this founder  
Sect. 2. of the Athenian liberties.

THESEUS had now reached his fiftieth year, without attaining to the wisdom which his advance in life, together with the multiplied disasters of his amorous days, ought to have taught him. At Sparta he saw Helen the daughter of Tindarus, king of that country, as she was dancing in the temple of Diana, during one of the solemn festivals of the goddess; and though she was then but ten years old, his heart was not proof against the influence of those charms, destined in after time to be so ruinous both to Greece and Troy. Resolved to attempt the possession of her at any price, Theseus besought the aid of his companion Pirithous, of whose fidelity and daring spirit he had often before made trial, and with his help he carried off the Spartan princess to Aphidnæ, an obscure town of Attica, where he consigned her to the care of his mother Æthra.

INDEPENDENTLY of her superior beauty, Helen was a prize rendered by her birth an object of the highest ambition; popular credulity pronounced her the daughter of Jupiter. In return for his late service, Pirithous called upon his friend Theseus to assist him in obtaining a wife of the like illustrious parentage. In the western region of Greece, called in those days of ignorance, from its situation, the kingdom of darkness, reigned a prince, the supposed ruler over departed spirits. His queen, in the same manner as Helen, had the honour of claiming Jupiter for her father. To carry her off from her imperial consort was the worthy enterprise of Pirithous, in conjunction with his friend: but the success of the attempt was answerable to its folly. Pirithous was torn in pieces by a three-headed monster, stationed to guard  
the

the infernal gate. Theseus remained a prisoner, B o o k  
and was cast into a dungeon for life. II.

Mean while the king of Sparta had received in- Sect. 2.  
telligence of the disposal of his daughter, and had  
entered Attica at the head of a powerful army.  
Innocent of the guilt which had provoked the  
war, the Athenians offered every reparation in  
their power to the incensed monarch, conducted  
him to Aphidnæ, and delivered Helen into his  
hands, together with Æthra, and all the attend-  
ants, to whose care Theseus had intrusted the  
royal maid.

At length Theseus was released. The interces-  
sion of Hercules, who in the course of his ro-  
mantic adventures had paid a visit to the  
prince of the gloomy regions, had obtained him  
his liberty; and he returned to Athens. But the  
public indignation now refused him a throne, of  
which his violences had rendered him unworthy.  
Menestheus, a prince of the royal line of Erechtheus,  
had availed himself of the opportunity supplied by  
the imprudent conduct of the Athenian king, and  
was in possession of the kingdom. Abandoned by  
his friends, Theseus was obliged to retire in exile  
to Scyros, an island of the Ægean sea, on the  
coast of Eubœa, where shortly after he was killed  
by an accidental fall, or rather, as others report,  
he was treacherously put to death by Lycomedes  
king of the island, who suspected danger from the  
turbulent spirit of this chieftain.

FROM some fragments of antient history, pre-  
served by Plutarch, a more consistent and proba-  
ble account may be collected of the latter days of  
Theseus. The discontent of the Athenian nobles,  
stript by this prince of the privileges with which  
the Cecropian magistracies had invested them;  
the disappointed hopes of the branches of the  
Erechthean family, who in Theseus saw an intruder  
into

BOOK into a throne which they had considered as va-

II. cant ; the malice of popular leaders, traducing

SECT. 2. Theseus, as having suppressed the municipal tribunals only to enlarge his own power, as having removed the villagers of Attica from the freedom of rural life to be enclosed and more effectually enslaved within the barriers of a city ; all these causes conspired to nourish a resentment against him at home, which at length produced an open insurrection. The enemies of Theseus found an ally in the Spartan king, who, it is likely, beheld with impatience the boundary which the Athenian had erected, as prescribing limits to the Peloponnesian states. Theseus saw his danger, and prepared to meet it. His first exertion was against Sparta, in providing for the security of his own frontier, or in making incursions into Sparta : and in one of these, the Spartan princess was, among other prisoners, carried off, and conveyed to Aphidnæ. The issue of the war proved, however, unfortunate to Theseus. Unable to cope with the union of domestic and foreign enemies, he retired from a country where his many services had been so ungratefully requited, and removed his family to Eubœa. His death followed shortly after, not without a suspicion that Menestheus and his party had shared with Lycomedes in the guilt of it.

AN account so dishonouring to Athens her vanity would not permit her to adopt. The aid of fable was therefore employed. And to remove the imputation of ingratitude from the Athenian people, Theseus was pronounced to be criminal.

At the time of the Trojan war, Menestheus was seated on the throne, and commanded the Athenians at the siege of Troy. But he did not live to return to Greece. After his death, Demophoon



mophoon the son of Theseus obtained the king-B o o k  
dom.II.

It is remarkable, that as Theseus had his con-Sect. 2.  
cluding fortunes overfet by domestic faction, so after the lapse of near five centuries, by domestic faction was his memory restored to honour. Cimon the son of Miltiades, eminent as he was by his birth, and still more by the important services he had rendered to his country, suffered the lustre of his virtues to be tarnished by a mean jealousy against Themistocles, and wished to supplant the hero of Salamis in the favour of the people. An opportunity for this purpose seemed to offer itself, when Cimon was commissioned to exterminate certain Dolopian pirates, who had formed a settlement on the island of Scyros. He remembered the antient tradition, that in this island Theseus had ended his days, and was buried. Search was therefore made by his order, and the bones of the Athenian hero being found, or supposed to be found, were removed with all imaginable pomp to Athens. Here the venerable remains were deposited in a sumptuous monument erected for their reception. Theseus was even announced a god. A magnificent temple was raised, priests and sacrifices were appointed to the new divinity ; and agreeably to the character which this patron of liberty had sustained in life, his temple was declared to be a sanctuary, where the unfriended slave and meanest outcast should for ever find a refuge from injury and oppression. To give the greater dignity to the establishment, the several festive sports, which were the usual ornaments of the Grecian solemnities, were produced on the sacred occasion, together with the most splendid dramatic entertainments that Athens had ever seen.

**BOOK** THE effect of this stroke of policy corresponded

II. fully with the illiberal views of the contriver. It

**Sect. 2.** gave him a decided advantage over his rival, in the eyes of a people, fond of public shew, but still more delighted with the compliment paid to their own vanity in the honours thus bestowed on the founder of the Athenian democracy; and all those effusions of gratitude, which republican states in the highest intoxication of liberty have been prompted to lavish on their casual favourites, Cimon at this time enjoyed. Such as had been the fate of Theseus, was also the fate of Themistocles. The victim of rival ambition, he whose counsels and valour had saved Athens, was obliged to save himself by retiring to a foreign land; and, as if to render the resemblance between him and the Athenian sovereign more striking, like Theseus he was lamented and honoured by his countrymen, when neither their lamentations nor honours could avail him.

## B O O K II.

## SECTION III.

**T**HE history of the second Trojan war has **Book**  
 had an eminent advantage: it has been **II.**  
 sung by the greatest genius of antiquity, and has **Sect. 3.**  
 given rise to the two finest poems that Greece and  
 Rome had to boast of. However, we are not to  
 suppose, that Homer or Virgil entered deep into  
 all the historical causes of this war: they were  
 only to make choice of those portions and circum-  
 stances of it, that were most susceptible of poetical  
 ornament, and might advance highest the glory of  
 those nations for whom they wrote. It may there-  
 fore be allowable to consider it in another point of  
 view, and to trace its connection with the preced-  
 ing part of the Grecian history.

MENELAUS, husband to Helen, was the de-  
 scendant of Tantalus king of Sipylus. The crimes  
 of that perfidious prince, as we have seen, had  
 lost



BOOK lost his family the crown. He had offered vio-

II. lence to Ganymede, the son of Tros king of Troy,  
Sect. 3. even in the temple of Jupiter, whither he was  
come to sacrifice; and the princes of that house  
never ceased warring against the house of Tanta-  
lus till they dethroned the guilty race. Pelops,  
son to Tantalus (for Tantalus did not live to see  
the final overthrow of his family) retired into  
Greece to Pisa, where he obtained to wife Hippo-  
damia daughter of Cœnomaus, and got possession  
of the sovereignty. He had two sons by her,  
Atreus and Thyestes. Atreus married Ætrophe,  
daughter to Eurystheus king of Mycenæ, and suc-  
ceeded Eurystheus. Agamemnon and Menelaus  
were the grandsons, or more probably the sons of  
Atreus; after whose death Agamemnon ascended  
the throne of Mycenæ, and Menelaus, by the  
marriage of Helen, became king of Sparta. He-  
len was the daughter of Tyndarus and Leda.  
They owed the Spartan crown to the bounty of  
Hercules, and were bound by a solemn promise to  
restore it to his posterity. But the state of the  
Herculean princes was much fallen; and the  
faithless Tyndarus thought himself discharged from  
an obligation, which, he flattered himself, might  
now be violated with impunity. And probably  
hence it was, that he wedded his daughter Clytem-  
nestra to Agamemnon, and made choice of Me-  
nelaus for his other daughter Helen. He sought  
to secure himself by a double alliance to a family,  
on whose crown the Heraclidæ had a claim, and  
who therefore from principles of interest must be  
always ready to concur in excluding them out of  
Peloponnesus.

It may naturally be conjectured, that the Tro-  
jan king beheld with indignation the flourishing  
fortunes of this race of Tantalus, whose crimes  
had been rewarded with the possession of so many  
kingdoms.

kingdoms. But besides this particular cause of B o o k  
 hatred to the Pelopidæ, he had reason to com- II.  
 plain of Greece in general : they had laid waste his Sect. 3.  
 country in the time of the Argonautic expedition ;  
 they had spilled the blood of all his nearest kindred,  
 and had taken away his sister Hesiione captive.  
 Priam made preparations for repaying these  
 wrongs to Greece : he fortified his city, and formed  
 many considerable alliances ; and when he thought  
 himself in a condition to bid defiance to his ene-  
 mies, Paris was sent with a fleet to make retri-  
 butions. The first expedition of this young prince  
 was on the coasts of Laconia, where, in the ab-  
 sence of Menelaus, he plundered his treasures,  
 and carried off his wife Helen, who, if the poets  
 may be believed, was not ill pleased with her cap-  
 tivity. The character of Paris is loaded by many  
 writers with the charges of ingratitude and perfidy,  
 as if he had been hospitably entertained at the  
 court of Menelaus, and had taken the opportunity  
 of deluding away the Spartan queen. It is indeed  
 by no means agreed, what motives engaged Paris  
 in this expedition : but it seems to be generally  
 acknowledged, that he set out in a hostile manner ;  
 and some even pretend, that he declared his  
 purpose to vindicate his aunt Hesiione, who suffered  
 much injurious treatment from her husband Te-  
 lamon. Be his motives however what they might,  
 it is scarcely to be imagined, that he should come  
 with views of amity to the court of any of the Pe-  
 lopian princes, where at best he must have ex-  
 pected a cool and contemptuous reception. And  
 indeed the large spoils with which the Trojan  
 fleet returned laden, and which, as it appears from  
 Homer, contributed not less than the rape of He-  
 len to excite the Grecians to arms, make it much  
 more probable that his principal object was to in-  
 sult and ravage. But the accounts we have of  
 Vol. I. . . . . this

BOOK this event are mostly from Grecian authors, who

II. would naturally endeavour to blacken the Trojans,  
Sect. 3. and to render the cause of their own country honourable and fair-seeming.

It is obvious to enquire how it came to pass, that Helen should at this period have the title of queen of Sparta, and Menelaus be spoken of as possessing that throne, when the succession belonged to Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndarus, and brothers of Helen. If these were alive, and in Sparta, why did they make no opposition to the Trojans? if they were dead, why does Homer, in the third book of the Iliad, introduce Helen, when she takes a review of the Grecian chiefs, expressing much surprise at their absence? The difficulty will be explained, if, as some authors have asserted, Tyndarus divided his kingdom equally among his three children, and if we suppose the throne of Sparta to have been allotted to Helen, while the territory of Laconia was portioned out between her brothers. Castor and Pollux were not dead, when Paris invaded Greece; but they fell, probably, on that very occasion, in defence of their country. Helen was unacquainted with this fatal circumstance, for the fleet of Troy bore her away immediately from the scene of danger.

THE rape of Helen occasioned great consternation throughout Greece, especially at the courts of Sparta and Mycenæ; and it was determined to send an embassy to demand reparation of the Trojan king. Menelaus and Ulysses prince of Ithaca were chosen for this important purpose; and certainly no designation could be more judicious. Menelaus, as the injured person, would not fail warmly to urge a cause in which he was so nearly interested: Ulysses, on the other hand, was one of the wisest and most eloquent of the Grecian princes. Nevertheless neither the earnest plea of the



the one, nor the abilities of the other, availed B o o k  
 aught; and after many fruitless negotiations, the II.  
 ambassadors returned to Greece. All thoughts of Sect. 3.  
 peace being now laid aside, a powerful confederacy was formed to carry the war into Asia. This confederacy owed its strength to a shrewd counsel, of which Ulysses was the author. The charms of Helen had brought many suitors to the Spartan court; and, besides Menelaus, she numbered most of the princes of Greece among her admirers, Menestheus of Athens, Ulysses, Antilochus son to Nestor, Ajax and Teucer sons of Telamon, Ajax son of Oileus king of Locris, and several others. Tyndarus dreaded the consequence of preferring one of so many competitors, respectable for rank and power. But Ulysses removed the difficulty. He advised Tyndarus to exact an oath of each of the princes, that on whomsoever he should bestow his daughter, they would maintain an inviolable friendship with the fortunate candidate, and be ever ready to yield him assistance and protection. Every one of them cheerfully entered into an engagement, of which his fond hopes told him he should himself reap the advantage. It now therefore became manifest, how well devised was the project of the subtle Ulysses. Martial preparations were made throughout all Greece; and Agamemnon, Menelaus's brother, the most powerful at sea of any of the Grecian kings, and whose dominion extended over many of the islands, as well as over a considerable part of Peloponnesus, was named chief of the confederate forces.

BUT, notwithstanding these shews of war, there is reason to suspect, that many of the Grecians were in their hearts averse from this expedition, and privately laboured to discredit it. A report was industriously propagated, that Troy could not be taken but at extreme hazard, and that many

BOOK things were first to be performed, of which even

II. the possibility was greatly to be questioned. The  
Sect. 3. Greeks were to get possession of the image of Pallas, which was guarded with most religious care in the Trojan citadel: and the tomb of Laomedon, built on one of the gates of Troy, was to be demolished by the Trojans themselves. Besides, the first Grecian, that should set his foot on the Trojan shore, was doomed to die. The priests declared, that without Achilles the son of Peleus the Greeks could not be victorious; and yet they affirmed, that if this prince went to the war, he should never see his native country more. The oracles required also, that the arrows of Hercules, which had been dipped in the blood of the Hydra, should be brought to the siege of Troy: but it was not to be expected, that the friend of Hercules, Philoctetes, to whose care they had been entrusted, would ever be assistant to the aggrandizing of the house of Pelops.

By the abilities and art, however, of Agamemnon and his friends most of these difficulties were removed, or the influence of such reports was taken off, and ten years after the rape of Helen a numerous army, with a fleet of twelve hundred transports, was got in readiness. The place of rendezvous was Aulis, a port of the island Eubœa, and all things seemed now to promise a prosperous expedition, when they who opposed Agamemnon's counsels had a new opportunity of carrying their schemes into execution. There was a dead calm for some days; and the prophet Calchas, having been gained over by some of the enemies of the Atridæ, declared, that the gods were offended with Agamemnon, nor should propitious gales ever revisit the Grecian fleet, until he had appeased heaven by the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. The prophet's declaration was soon divulged among  
the

the superstitious soldiery ; and Agamemnon, too B o o k  
 anxious to preserve the supreme command, re- II.  
 solved to gratify ambition at the expence of his Sect. 3.  
 paternal tenderness. However, the princess was  
 not sacrificed. Achilles, they say, interposing in  
 her behalf, and threatening destruction to Calchas  
 if he did not save her, the affrighted soothsayer  
 found out some other way of placating his gods,  
 and in a short time the fleet sailed for Asia.

PRIAM was not ignorant of their designs, and  
 had employed every method to strengthen himself  
 against the invasion. Neither fortifications, nor  
 martial equipments, nor alliances had been for-  
 gotten : and so many were the princes who es-  
 poused his cause, that it cost the Greeks nine  
 years to subdue the nations in confederacy with  
 Troy. In the tenth year, they sat down before  
 the city. And here, if we may believe the poets,  
 were the most amazing acts of prowess performed  
 on either side ; the Trojans, and especially the  
 princes of the house of Priam, eminently distin-  
 guishing themselves in the defence of their dearest  
 rights ; and on the other hand, the Grecians dar-  
 ing all the dangers of the war to weaken and dis-  
 tress the Trojans. At length, the great Hector fell.  
 That brave son of Priam, who had long approved  
 himself both in council and in arms the faithfullest  
 friend to his country's cause, and had often sent  
 confusion and dismay through the Grecian host,  
 was slain by Achilles, and opprobriously dragged  
 round the walls of Troy. It were to be wished,  
 Homer had not made his hero sully all his glories  
 by wreaking his vengeance in so poor a manner on  
 the corse of this noble Trojan. Yet perhaps the  
 poet meant this as one instance of the dire effects  
 of furious wrath, even in the most generous minds ;  
 the main object of his immortal work being to  
 shew the mischiefs of ungoverned passion, as well



**BOOK** as what a train of calamities the faults of princes

**II.** bring upon their people. The scene opens with a  
**Sect. 5.** display of the pride and injurious haughtiness of Agamemnon, who had refused to accept of a ransom for Chryseis, daughter to Chryses priest of Apollo. The god, moved by the prayers of this afflicted father, sends a plague among the Greeks. For nine days had the raging pestilence wasted the Grecian army, when a council is convened, and Calchas makes known the high behests of heaven. Achilles supports the prophet, and urges the king to do honour to the god, and save his country. Pressed by the necessity of affairs, and full of sudden wrath, Agamemnon restores to the priest his captive daughter; but then, to indemnify himself, he vauntingly seizes on Briseis, a fair slave whom Achilles loved with extreme tenderness. Achilles felt sensibly the insult, and resolved to serve no longer so violent and unjust a king. This brought numberless evils on the Greeks, the Trojans being victorious in every place in the absence of Achilles; until Patroclus, the bosom friend of the Grecian hero, being slain in one of these engagements, the power of friendship triumphed over every other consideration, and Achilles marched out again to battle. His presence brought back victory to the Grecians, and Hector, the bulwark of Troy, soon fell by his hand.—These are the outlines of the Iliad. Within these the divine poet has wrought a number of beautiful episodes with so much delicacy and strength of genius, he has painted nature with such lively colouring, and has so happily availed himself of the machinery of deities which the pagan religion admitted of, that now for above five and twenty centuries his works have been the delight of the most improved nations, and have been thought to deserve the care and  
attention

attention of some of the greatest princes the world has beheld. B o o k II.

HOMER has paid a high compliment to the Trojan prince by closing his poem with the death and burial of Hector, as if, when he was fallen, there was nothing more, worthy to be recorded. The history of the war is thus continued by other writers. Sect. 3.

THE charms of Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, had made such an impression on the breast of the formidable foe of Troy, Achilles, that for her sake he is said to have determined to change his party ; and in order to espouse her, he committed himself to the faith of the enemy by entering the temple of Apollo in the citadel. Here Paris, treacherously concealed behind the statue of the god, directed a fatal shaft against the heel of the hero, his only vulnerable part, and wounded him mortally. The stand from which the arrow was directed gave the poets occasion to say, the wound was inflicted by the hand of Apollo himself.

PYRRHUS, the son of Achilles, succeeded to his father's place at the siege of Troy, and according to Virgil, severely did he revenge his death on the perfidious Trojans. Soon after his arrival, the city was taken, or rather betrayed into the hands of the Greeks. He filled the royal palace with slaughter ; neither age nor dignity checked his reeking sword : he did not even spare old Priam, to whose virtues his very enemies bore witness ; and he caused Polyxena to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles.

IN this manner did the Greeks return victorious after a ten years labour ; but their victory was dearly purchased. They had lost the flower of their army, with many of the bravest of their chiefs, Peneleus leader of the Bœotian people, Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, Thersander the son of Polynices, Antilochus the son of Nestor :  
and

BOOK and even of those princes who escaped with life,  
 II. few ever saw their country again in peace. Their  
 Sect. 3. long absence from their several kingdoms had encouraged faction, and given rise to many disorders in their private families. Pyrrhus, Achilles' son, was deprived of his father's kingdom in Thessaly, and obliged to settle in Epirus. The brave Diomedes, whose valour had greatly contributed to the reduction of Troy, found his court distracted through the intrigues and debaucheries of his queen Ægialea, and, ashamed of her infamous practices, retired into Italy. Philoctetes, who reigned over a part of Thessaly, was expelled by his seditious subject, and departed likewise into Italy, where he built the city of Petilia. Agapenor, king of Arcadia, was driven by contrary winds to another country, and never returned to Greece. Agamemnon came back to Mycenæ; but was soon after murdered by his own wife Clytemnestra, and her gallant Ægisthus. And the wise Ulysses, whose counsels had been often the safety of the Grecian army, was for ten years tost from sea to sea, and when at last he reached Ithaca, he was anew obliged to take up arms against the chief lords of his kingdom, who had usurped lawless power, and held his queen Penelope in a kind of thralldom. The fate also of Idomeneus, king of Crete, was extremely deplorable. In the midst of a storm, he had rashly vowed to sacrifice to the gods the first object he should meet with after his landing on the Cretan shore. No sooner was he arrived, but his own son, his eldest child, moved by filial affection, ran eagerly to embrace him. The superstitious father had the weakness to fulfil his vow, and forfeited his crown by it, his subjects rising in arms against him. He afterwards made Italy his place of refuge, where he  
 is



is said to have established a principality in the B o o k  
country of the Salentines. II.

BUT besides these, many other of the Grecian Sect. 3.  
chiefs ended their days miserably. Ajax, the son  
of Telamon, killed himself, because the Greeks  
had adjudged Achilles' armour to Ulysses. Me-  
nestheus king of Athens died at sea. And Ajax,  
son of Oileus, with his whole fleet perished in a  
violent tempest. An untimely chance of a dif-  
ferent kind had carried off Palamedes before the  
conclusion of the siege. He was put to death by  
the Greeks, on a charge of holding private corres-  
pondence with the enemy. Some pretend, that  
he fell a victim to the jealousy of Ulysses and  
others of the Grecian leaders. But it may rather  
be supposed, the Eubœans invented this report to  
save the reputation of Palamedes, who was son to  
Nauplius their king. It is said however, that  
Nauplius deeply repented the death of his son, and  
by putting out false lights, caused many of the  
Greeks, on their return homeward, to perish on  
the Eubœan coast.

THE loss of so many princes occasioned great  
revolutions in the several states of Greece: the go-  
vernment changed hands almost in every place.  
At Athens, Demophoon the son of Theseus ob-  
tained the soveraign power. The kingdom of Arca-  
dia, which had belonged to Agapenor, passed to  
another line. Merion ascended the throne of  
Crete, after the expulsion of Idomeneus. And  
the Dorians possessed themselves of the isle of  
Rhodes, where Tlepolemus the son of Hercules  
had been king. As for the kingdom of Mycenæ,  
Clytemnestra and Ægisthus enjoyed it, on the  
murder of Agamemnon: but in some years Ores-  
tes, who had been privately educated at the court  
of Strophius prince of Phocis, being come to man-  
hood, returned to Mycenæ, and put to death both  
his

BOOK his mother and her adulterer. He afterwards

II. married Hermione, daughter to Menelaus and  
Sect. 3. Helen, and heirs of the crown of Sparta. She  
had been espoused to Pyrrhus : but Orestes, who  
claimed her by virtue of a prior promise, caused  
Pyrrhus to be slain in the temple of Apollo at Del-  
phi. He was assisted in all these enterprises by his  
faithful Pylades, the son of Strophius. The friend-  
ship and extreme likeness of these two princes  
are celebrated in story : and so entirely are they  
said to have loved each other, that when Thoas  
king of Taurica would have put Orestes to death,  
they both earnestly contended who should die,  
each of them affirming himself to be Orestes. Af-  
ter the horrid fact of embruing his hands in the  
blood of his mother (who ought to have received  
her punishment from some other deathsmen) Ores-  
tes, the poets tell us, was obliged to go through  
many expiations, before he could be freed from  
the horrors that beset him. No doubt, the guilt  
of his parricide might justly haunt his distracted  
thoughts : but probably his supplications to hea-  
ven, aided by length of time, restored him again  
to peace. With the actions of this prince is con-  
cluded that tale of crimes and carnage, which jus-  
tifies Horace in denominating the family from  
which he sprung *sævam Pelopis domum*, the bloody  
house of Pelops : the propriety of the appellation  
will appear from a short detail of their domestic  
history.

TANTALUS, king of Sipylus in the Lesser Asia,  
besides his base treachery to Ganymede, and a  
sordid avarice which made him a scourge to his  
people, was also a prince of great cruelty, and was  
guilty of sacrificing human victims. He invited  
the gods to a feast, at which he served up to them  
his son Pelops : that is, as may be conjectured, he  
attempted to offer up his own son on the altars of  
the

the gods ; but Pelops escaped from the hands of his inhuman father. The poets have taken care to punish Tantalus for his crimes by placing him in the infernal regions, where he is condemned to eternal torments.—His son Pelops fled into Greece, after the overthrow of his kingdom, and opened to himself a settlement by treachery and blood. CEnomaus king of Pisa had promised to bestow his daughter on whatever suitor should have the fortune to overcome him in the chariot race. Pelops bribed Myrtilus the king's charioteer to cut in two CEnomaus' chariot, and slightly to join again the parts together. In the midst of the course, the chariot opened, and the old king falling out lost his life. Pelops took possession of the throne, and rewarded the perfidious service of Myrtilus with death.—He had two sons, Atreus and Thyestes. Atreus married Ærope the daughter of Eurystheus, in whose right, as we have seen, he became king of Mycenæ. Thyestes debauched his brother's wife, and had by her two children. The intrigue was discovered ; Atreus concealed his resentment, invited his brother to a banquet, and gave him the flesh of his incestuous progeny to feed on. The sun, say the poets, turned back at the sight, and refused to behold the horrid crimes of the race of Pelops. Thyestes was avenged by his son Ægisthus, whom he had by his own daughter Pelopia ; for Ægisthus killed Atreus, and seized on the kingdom of Mycenæ : but Agamemnon and Menelaus attacked him, and recovered their right.—Agamemnon was one of the wealthiest and most potent princes of his time. And yet, notwithstanding all his prosperity and the greatness of his power, the fate of his family overtook him : he was murdered by Ægisthus, the corrupter of Clytemnestra, who, after his death, usurped the Mycenean throne.



**BOOK** It is remarkable, that Homer has no where  
**II.** mentioned these tragical exploits of the Tantalidæ,  
**SECT. 3.** the history of Tantalus himself only excepted. This circumstance seems to give strength to the opinion of many able investigators of antiquity, that the father of epic poetry was one of the Greeks of Lesser Asia. For, about eighty years after the destruction of Tróy, a severe revolution befel most of the kingdoms of Peloponnesus, when many of the inhabitants of those parts were obliged to seek new fortunes in a strange land. Now, very probably, these exiled Greeks brought away with them high notions of the majesty and splendour of the princes of the line of Pelops, and, especially at their first settling in Asia, might (from a pride natural to men who come among a foreign people) make their boast of the excellent qualities, the magnificence, and noble feats of those their antient sovereigns. Nothing therefore could be more unpopular for Homer, than to touch on the disgrace of a house held there in such distinguished reverence. It is very possible indeed, that many of the flagitious acts ascribed to this house may have been the invention of later ages, to gratify the princes that succeeded to the dominion of Peloponnesus : and probably also, the dramatic writers, according to an art of which we have already seen an instance, have endeavoured to give to these parts of history a blacker cast than properly belongs to them, in order to render their own pieces the deeper and more affecting. Still however there is reason to apprehend, the charge against the Pelopians is not entirely groundless ; for we find that Homer, in describing the realms below, has assigned to Tantalus his place in the abodes of woe and horror. And it is well worthy of notice, that of all the princes of this family, this should be the only one  
whom

whom Homer ventured to represent in a disadvantageous manner. Tantalus never reigned in Greece: he was the person, whose crimes lost to Pelops the crown of Sipylus; and probably his violence and impieties were well remembered among the Asiatic nations: so that not only the Greeks could have little concern for his fame, but besides it was scarcely possible to disguise the history of such a prince, in a land where his very name was had in detestation. B o o k II. Sect. 3.

BEFORE we have done with Homer, it may not be amiss to mention, that the opinion just stated concerning his country has given birth to a conjecture, which places his inimitable work in a new point of view. It is supposed, that he wrote his Iliad at a period of time when jealousies began to disunite the Ionian states, and their mutual contentions afforded just cause to fear that they would soon fall a prey to some of the Asiatic powers. At this perilous conjuncture, therefore, Homer interposed. He shews them the fatal consequences of divided counsels, and the dreadful ills which haughtiness and ungoverned ambition bring along with them. And, at the same time, he reminds them of the glorious achievements which their forefathers wrought, when all Greece united rose in arms to revenge lawless insult, and reduced the proudest empire of Asia to the dust. In this light, it is only the less considerable part of Homer's excellence, that he had the highest-flown fancy, joined with a most amazing strength of genius: he is also a great, a faithful patriot; his works are inspirited with the most generous and noble sentiments; and all the characters he introduces, are instructive examples to his imprudent countrymen.

THE year of Troy taken is by the best of our chronologers fixed to be the nine hundredth before

B o o k fore Christ, 124 years before the restoration of the

II. Olympiads by Iphitus, and about twenty years after the rape of Helen. And from this epoch may Sect. 3. nearly be determined the period, in which lived those first improvers of Greece, whose history has been obscured by fable. For between the age of those princes who assisted at the siege of Troy, and the age of Cecrops and the other founders of the Grecian states, there intervened six generations, which being computed at thirty years to a generation make 180 years: and therefore the first beginnings of cities in Greece cannot be much earlier than two hundred and ten or twenty years before the Trojan æra. The extravagant pretensions to antiquity advanced by the Greek chronologers carry their own confutation on the face of them. They have invented long catalogues of princes, (particularly for Sicyon they give us a succession continued 900 years back from the siege of Troy,) but neither tell us any thing of the virtues or the vices of these sovereigns, of their wars, their improvements, or their decline: all they pretend to save out of this waste of history is a long list of names, with the number of years each prince is supposed to have reigned, leaving to their readers the task of supplying annals for this fancied train of royalty.

THAT the eversion of Troy preceded the birth of Christ by no more than nine hundred years, is collected from the number of kings that ruled in Sparta between the return of the Heraclidæ and the battle of Thermopylæ. For it is generally allowed, that the return of the Heraclidæ was eighty years after Troy was overthrown, and the battle of Thermopylæ was 480 years before Christ. If therefore we can determine the lapse of years between the return and the battle, we shall know exactly at what time ended the Trojan empire.

Now



Now the antient chronology being extremely defective, the only method of computation is by the reigns of kings. And in a series of kings, as they are liable to violent deaths more than other men, and as the crown does not always descend from father to son, but princes from the collateral line come in, and sometimes uncles succeed their nephews; so it is judged sufficient to compute each reign at about eighteen or twenty years, the one with the other. By this way of computation therefore it is evident, that from the return of the Heraclidæ to the engagement at Thermopylæ under Leonidas there elapsed about 340 years: for during this period there reigned at Sparta seventeen kings of each race, and, one reign with another, twenty years may be allowed to each king. Hence it follows, that there are 420 years from the destruction of Troy to the battle of Thermopylæ, and 480 years from that battle to the birth of Christ; in all, nine hundred years. And whatever antient chronologers may say, much farther than this the times of Troy cannot have been, especially as this computation by the succession of kings is in perfect agreement with the reigns of the several kings recorded in the best-attested histories.

## B O O K II.

## SECTION I.

BOOK III. **H**ITHERTO we have been making our way through the mist of fables: we shall now see the gloom dissipate gradually, and the purer light of history beam down upon us. However, the period that immediately succeeded the Trojan war affords few events deserving of notice. Greece was weakened by that fatal expedition, which had consumed her brave men, and deprived her of many of her ablest princes: violent factions prevailed in several of her states; in others new sovereigns had established themselves; and they who had taken advantage of the public calamity to usurp sovereign power, sought rather to secure their own acquisitions, than to attempt any thing great

great or excellent. Such was Greece for more than one generation after the return from Troy. II.

And even in later times, when she had in a manner recovered from those deep wounds, little is there to be met with worth reciting, as long she remained divided into so many petty sovereignties, and liable to the frequent wars and revolutions, which the interests and jealousies, and perhaps the crimes, of such a number of princes closely bordering on each other must naturally produce. But when once those petty sovereignties were resolved into larger and well-modelled states, and the nations of Greece, instead of an establishment which the cruelties and oppressive rule of their kings had rendered odious, began to enjoy the blessings of free government and equal laws, then also did they begin to rise to fame, and to dispute for empire with the mightiest and most formidable people of the earth. Sect. 1.

BUT before we proceed, it will be of moment to take a review of GREECE in general, and to point out the situation and extent of those kingdoms of which antient writers make mention. We will suppose the reader to have before him the Map of Greece prefixed to this work, and shall begin our survey by PELOPONNESUS, the most southern part of Greece.

IT is a peninsula, joined to the main land only by the Corinthian isthmus; and on this account it has been by some authors considered as a country distinct from Greece Proper. Its eastern coast is washed by the Ægean sea, its western by the Ionian; on the south, is that part of the Mediterranean called the sea of Crete; to the north, it has the Saronic bay on one side of the isthmus, and the bay of Crissa on the other. It is evident it derived its antient name of Peloponnesus, *Pelops' island*, from the prince who reigned here, he and



**B o o k** his posterity, with so much splendor : its fancied  
 II. resemblance to a mulberry leaf is said to have  
 Sect. I. given occasion to the Greeks of the Lower Em-  
 pire to distinguish it by its present appellation of  
 Morea.

IN the south-east angle of this celebrated pen-  
 insula lies the Spartan kingdom. Its two promon-  
 tories, of Malea and Tænarus, situate on the Medi-  
 terranean, form between them the large Laconic  
 gulph, into which the river Eurotas discharges itself.  
 At the mouth of the Eurotas were two sea-ports  
 of some note, Acria and Trinasus, near which last  
 stands Gythium, which in later times became  
 likewise a port of considerable figure. On the  
 east and north-east runs the Argolic bay, and to  
 the west the bay of Messenia. It is obvious to  
 remark therefore, that if the civil constitution of  
 the Lacedæmonians had permitted them, they en-  
 joyed many opportunities of cultivating a mari-  
 time power, as they lay open to the sea on every  
 side, excepting that small part to the north where  
 they had the kingdoms of Arcadia and Argos for  
 their limits, and that short line to the west where  
 they were bounded by the Messenian territories,  
 of which likewise they at length became possessed.

SPARTA, or Lacedæmon, the capital of this  
 kingdom, lay on the river Eurotas, about thirty  
 miles from the mouth of it. It was a plain-built,  
 unwall'd city, without either ornament or strength,  
 except what it received from the virtue and bra-  
 very of its inhabitants. Neither was the country  
 around it much embellish'd with towns, though  
 there were some places of convenient situation, as  
 Epidaurus Limera on the gulph of Argos, Leuc-  
 trum on the Messenian bay, and other hamlets,  
 all in a state of little improvement. The troubled  
 condition of Peloponnesus, in the earlier days of  
 Greece, prevented the advancement of culture :

and after the laws of Lycurgus were established, B o o k  
 the minds of the Lacedæmonians were drawn off II.  
 from all splendid and expensive arts. We must Sect. I.  
 not however overlook Amyclæ not far from the  
 foot of mount Taygetus, which, the poets tell us,  
 was the birth-place of Castor and Pollux; nor Tæ-  
 narus, a city built on the promontory of that  
 name, famous for its cave, through which Hercu-  
 les was fabled to have gone down into hell. East of  
 the Eurotas was Helos, the city of the ill-fated  
 Helotæ, a flourishing city once, till destroyed by  
 the Spartans, as we shall relate in its proper  
 place.—After the death of Menelaus, the kingdom  
 of Sparta fell to Orestes, by his marriage with  
 Hermione; and in the space of some few years, it  
 came into the possession of the princes of the house  
 of Hercules. The same Orestes, in right of his  
 father Agamemnon, held also the kingdom of  
 Mycenæ.

On the N. E. side of Peloponnesus, and run-  
 ning to a point towards the east between the Sa-  
 ronic bay and that of Argos, having Arcadia for  
 its western boundary, is a tract which in the days  
 of Agamemnon was called the kingdom of Myce-  
 næ, that city having been raised to a high degree  
 of splendor by the princes of the Pelopian race:  
 but when these lost the sovereignty of Peloponne-  
 sus, Mycenæ was reduced, and the city of Argos  
 gave its name to this part of the peninsula. Dio-  
 medes reigned over the Argives at the time of the  
 Trojan war: after he was retired into Italy, Ores-  
 tes became their sovereign. The city itself was  
 called Argos Hippium from its excellent breed of  
 horses, a name that served to distinguish it from  
 another Argos termed Amphiloichium, a city of  
 Acarnania. The goddess Juno claimed the pecu-  
 liar patronage of Argos, where she had a temple  
 of great renown: her priestess was always a ma-

B O O K tron of the first quality, and so highly did they

II. deem of her office, that the Argives numbered

Sect. 1. their years from her priesthood, as the Athenians from their Archons.

NEMEA, a village in this neighbourhood, gave name to the celebrated games, instituted in memory of Hercules having slain a lion that infested those parts. Pausanias tells us, that even in his days the inhabitants shewed a den which they called the *lion's den*, and pretended it was there that dreadful monster dwelt. The fens of Lerna, in the same district, were the scene of another exploit of Hercules, the destruction of the famed Hydra, which made this place its retreat. That little nook, where Trœzene is marked, was the extent of the dominions of Pittheus, grandfather to Theseus ; whence a judgment may be formed, how inconsiderable were many of the Grecian principalities in those early ages. Epidaurus, on the bay of Saron, was the city where the pretended god of physic had his solemn rites : his temple was filled with votaries from all parts ; and Pausanias tells us, there were in it no less than six pillars, on which were inscribed the names of those who had been recovered by his wonderful influence. The flight of Æsculapius from his proper habitation is well known on the authority of Livy. When the Romans had conquered Greece, the god forsook Epidaurus, and *wisely* removed to the seat of wealth and empire : the multitude was made to believe, that he was seen, in the form of a serpent, going on board the vessel which was to convey him to Rome.

THE government of Argos underwent many alterations. Phoroneus, its first founder, reigned there, from whom it was called Phoronicum, a name in process of time exchanged for Argos, from one of the succeeding kings. But how far the dominions



minions of these antient princes extended, or B o o k  
 what power they were invested with, it is scarcely H.  
 possible, nor indeed is it very material to deter- Sect. I.  
 mine. It may be sufficient to observe, that in  
 three or four generations after the return of the  
 Heraclidæ, it was divided into several principal-  
 ities, and so continued until the days of Phidon,  
 who re-united them all into one kingdom, and  
 greatly oppressed this part of Greece. When  
 he was dead, each city assumed its own particu-  
 lar government; and we find that Argos, Myce-  
 næ, Trœzen, Sicyon, engaged in alliances, and  
 made peace and war, independently of each other.  
 This was the cause of the total destruction of My-  
 cenæ; for the Mycæneans having assisted the La-  
 cedæmonians at the time of the Persian war, the  
 Argives took up arms against them and overthrew  
 their city. As for the government of Argos, it  
 suffered frequent revolutions, sometimes an aristo-  
 cracy, and sometimes the popular party prevail-  
 ing. Trœzen became a commonwealth. Sicyon  
 for some time had a prince of its own; but at  
 length it received likewise the form of a republic.

IN the earlier times of Greece, Sicyon had been  
 a distinct kingdom, of great repute: the fabulous  
 antiquity which they ascribe to it proves it flour-  
 ished among the first Grecian cities; and certain  
 it is, that it had the honour of giving the name  
 of Apia to Peloponnesus, from Apis, a king that  
 reigned here. But whatever it had been, it ap-  
 pears to have declined greatly before the Trojan  
 expedition. Homer tells us, that its inhabitants  
 served at the siege of Troy, as part of Agamem-  
 non's forces; and it is beyond a question, that,  
 soon after, it was incorporated with the kingdom  
 of Argos. However, in succeeding ages, it en-  
 creased again in wealth and splendor. Clisthenes,  
 who was prince of Sicyon in the days of Solon,

was

BOOK was one of the richest princes of Greece. Strabo

II. observes, that artificers in every kind of work  
Sect. I. were to be found here : and several other authors  
speak of it in like manner, as of a city abounding  
in all delicate and luxurious arts.

CORINTH, which lies to the north-east of Sicyon, does not seem to have been a part of Agamemnon's kingdom, but rather to have been tributary to him, as it appears from antient historians, that in the war of Troy they had princes of their own : or perhaps those were mercenary troops which they furnished ; for the territories of Corinth were very inconsiderable in extent, and of a coarse and barren soil ; and the people had not any wealth, but what they acquired by their intercourse with their neighbours. The position of this city, built on the southern extremity of the Isthmus or narrow neck of land that divides the Ægean sea from the Ionian, was favourable in an eminent degree to commerce ; but during the infancy of navigation among the Grecians, the principal advantage the Corinthians enjoyed was, that all the trade between Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece was carried on through their territories. But when the Grecian commerce began to extend itself from sea to sea, then indeed Corinth rose in proportion, and availed herself of all the benefits which her situation offered to her. To the west, the port of Lecheum on the bay of Crissa received the shipping from Spain, Italy, and the adjacent countries ; and to the east, Cenchreum on the Saronic gulph lay open to all the numerous fleets from the Grecian islands, from Egypt, and the coasts of Asia : so that Corinth, as it were, united the eastern and western worlds together. This extensive commerce soon rendered them, from a mean and inconsiderable people, one of the most flourishing of the Grecian states. They were the first  
that

that improved the maritime power of Greece by building large ships with three banks of oars, and that ventured to engage in naval combat. Their power became formidable, and their alliance was courted by all around them. And as to those ingenious works which luxury delights in, it is acknowledged that Corinth could vie with the most sumptuous cities of the earth. Noble edifices, masterly paintings, exquisite sculptures, and all the choicest embellishments of art, were found here in great profusion; and to their inventive genius also do we owe the richest order of architecture we now have. Their colonies moreover established themselves in divers parts, and grew up into great and powerful states: Syracuse, one of the most famed cities of the western world, was built by them; and the Corcyreans were of Corinthian extraction, though they afterwards engaged in war against their founders. In a word, Corinth was the glory of Peloponnesus, so confessedly, that the Romans thought it a sufficient chastisement to all the nations of these parts, to have laid this proud city in ruins. •

THE tutelary deity of the Corinthians was Neptune; which is a proof, that in those ages of idolatry, nations made choice of their gods according to their occupation and the natural advantages they enjoyed. The Corinthians were a maritime, trading people; and therefore their guardian god was *the monarch of the hoary deep*. His temple was magnificent; and in honour of him were the Isthmian games celebrated, so conspicuous in Grecian story. They consisted of exercises which were nearly the same at all the public games of Greece, running, wrestling, leaping, chariot-racing, pitching the disc, throwing the javelin. It is likely, those at the Isthmus had been instituted in honour of the first inventors of navigation; and at the same time,



BOOK time, to form their young men to agility and

II. strength of body, an excellent institution for a  
Sect. I. state like Corinth. These games were held at the  
end of four years complete, with great celebrity  
and pomp. And it is remarkable, that the re-  
ward the victors received was no more than a gar-  
land of pine-leaves: such a noble sensibility of  
glory were the Grecians endowed with!

MIDWAY the Isthmus, is a place marked Schœ-  
nus, where the Isthmus ran narrowest. It was the  
custom to bring ships over this tract, from the Sa-  
ronic into the Crissean gulph. Historians tell us,  
that several princes attempted to cut through the  
Plin. 4. c. 4. Corinthian Isthmus; and they pretend to have ob-  
served, that as many as attempted it died a violent  
death. In the Saronic gulph are several islands,  
two especially of great name, Ægina and Salamis:  
the first the kingdom of Æacus father to Peleus, a  
prince renowned for his piety and justice; the se-  
cond the country of the brave Telamon, father to  
Teucer and Ajax. We shall have occasion to  
mention both these islands, when we come to the  
affairs of Attica. Several other islands also there  
are off the coasts of Laconia and Argolis, some of  
which are numbered among the Sporades: but  
they present nothing worthy of notice.

ACHAIA, to the south-west of Corinth, is the  
next division of Peloponnesus. It is bounded on  
the north by the bay of Crissa, to the east by Si-  
cyon, to the south by the kingdoms of Arcadia  
and Elis, and to the west by the Ionian sea. This  
territory also appears to have been a part of Aga-  
memnon's empire; for Homer marshals the inha-  
bitants of Egium, of Helice, of Gonoessa, and  
some other neighbouring cities, among the forces  
of this prince at the siege of Troy. The name  
Achaia was of old common to all Greece, whose  
inhabitants in general are by antient writers called  
Achæans,

Achæans, *Ἀχαιοί*, though properly none were such B o o k II.  
 but those who dwelt on the east side of Pelopon- Sect. 1.  
 nefus. The appellation is said to have come from  
 Achæus, son to Xuthus, and great-grandson of  
 Deucalion, who passing on southward seated him-  
 self about the parts of Laconia. For the district  
 we have now before us was not called at the first  
 Achaia, but Ægialea, from Ægialeus the founder  
 of Sicyon, which name remained to it in Homer's  
 days. It was also entitled Ionia for a considerable  
 time, and the people Ægialean Ionians, to distin-  
 guish them from the Ionians of Attica. On the  
 restoration of the Heraclidæ, it received the name  
 of Achaia from the inhabitants of Argos and La-  
 conia, who fled before the Dorians and the de-  
 scendants of Hercules, and made room for them-  
 selves in this country by the expulsion of the anti-  
 ent possessors. It is said that Tisamenus, son to  
 Orestes, reigned over them in this new settlement;  
 but be that as it may, it appears that the Achæans  
 soon changed their form of government. The care  
 of the public good, according to Pausanias, was  
 entrusted to seven persons: and probably this was  
 the foundation of those famed Achæan states,  
 which made such a glorious stand for liberty in the  
 latter days of Greece.

SOUTH-EAST of Achaia, in the heart of Pello-  
 ponnesus, is Arcadia, having Elis on the west,  
 Argolis on the east, to the north Achaia and Si-  
 cyon, Laconia and Messenia to the south. Antient  
 authors are of opinion, that this is the part of  
 Greece that was first inhabited: and indeed the  
 beauty of the situation, and the advantages of the  
 soil, might well justify the conjecture. It was re-  
 moved from the sea-shore, which in the earlier  
 ages was much exposed to the violence of new ad-  
 venturers: the whole country was divided into  
 pleasant vales and fruitful hills, the fairest pastu-  
 rages

**BOOK** rages were found here, and on every side arose the  
**II.** green landscape. Accordingly, this was the abode  
**SECT. I.** by the poets of old assigned to all the rural deities. Over the Arcadian Mænalus Diana and her train of nymphs were wont to range : and here it was that Pan, the shepherd-god, and every genius of the forest and dale, chose to dwell. The occupation of the inhabitants also seemed to agree with the poet's fiction : they were a nation of shepherds ; their manners had all the innocence and simplicity of pastoral life, and nothing was to be heard around but bleating flocks and rustic song. However, in martial spirit they were not inferior to any Grecian people. The frequent incursions to which they became liable, as Greece filled with inhabitants, on account of the number of their cattle and the richness of their soil, obliged them to cultivate the arts of war as well as those of rural industry ; and we shall find them make a considerable figure in the military affairs of Greece. They also in time got possession of a maritime trade ; Pompos, one of their kings, having opened a way to Cyllene a port on the Ionian sea, and concluded a treaty of commerce with those of Ægina. Yet Arcadia itself was entirely an inland country ; and we learn from Homer, that Agamemnon supplied them with ships to sail to Troy. Their leader in that expedition was Agapenor, who, as we have already mentioned, never saw Arcadia more. Hippothous, a prince of another line, ascended the Arcadian throne ; after whom reigned a long series of kings : for it is remarkable, than the regal power maintained itself longer in Arcadia than in most parts of Greece, probably because the people had limited its extent, and the prince could undertake nothing of moment without the consent of his subjects. This preserved them from those violent convulsions, by which other monarchical governments were



were rent asunder. And historians tell us, that **B o o k**  
 the Arcadians did not even scruple to bring their **II.**  
 kings to justice, when they disgraced the regal ma- **Seçt. I.**  
 jesty. There are upon record two signal instances  
 to this purpose: the one of Aristocrates, whom  
 his subjects stoned to death for having offered vio-  
 lence to a young virgin, priestess to Diana Hym-  
 nia, at the very altar of the goddess; and the  
 other of his grandson, named likewise Aristocrates,  
 who having basely betrayed his allies the Messeni-  
 ans to the Spartan power, was for his breach of  
 faith deservedly put to death by the virtuous Ar-  
 cadians.

POETIC fiction has been exercised on almost  
 every spot of Arcadia. Here was the lake Stym-  
 phalus, where Hercules destroyed the monsters  
 Stymphalides; here also Nonacris, Erymanthus,  
 Pholoe, every one of them the theme of bards of  
 old. Nor are we to be surprised that the river  
 Styx, which the poets have numbered among the  
 rivers of hell, is to be met with in this country,  
 since by the testimony of Pausanias the waters of  
 the Styx carry so virulent a poison, that no crea-  
 ture can taste them and live; and a learned mo-  
 dern who had visited those parts informs us, that  
 the whole river is of a hideous hue; a thick livid  
 scum dwells on its surface, and whenever the wa-  
 ter bubbles, it is like the boiling up of pitch or bi-  
 tumen; no fish is to be found in the deadly  
 stream; the vapour that rises from it kills every  
 tree and every verdure it reaches to, and even the  
 brute creatures shun its infected banks. Towns  
 of Arcadia deserving of notice are Tegea, famous  
 for the victory of the Arcadians over Charilaus  
 king of Sparta, when the proud Spartans were  
 bound with the chains they had brought for the  
 Tegeans, and Mantinea, where was fought that  
 memorable battle between Thebes and Sparta in  
 which

Abbé Tour-  
 mont. Mem.  
 de l'Acad.  
 des Inscript.  
 T. 4.

**B o o k** which fell the excellent Epaminondas. Megalopolis, a city to the north of Mantinea, was not built till the later ages of Greece : Epaminondas was its founder.

ELIS is next to Arcadia, which limits it on the east. To the west is the Ionian sea, to the north Achaia, to the south Messenia and the bay of Cyparissus. The glory of this territory were the Olympic games, celebrated on the plains adjoining to the city Olympia, not far from the river Alpheus. They were instituted in honour of Jupiter, who had a superb temple at Olympia, adorned with an ivory statue of the god, fifty cubits high, the work of Phidias, and counted among the wonders of the pagan world. It is said, the sculptor took his idea of *the father of the gods and men* from those divine lines of Homer in which he appears in such awful pomp :

*This said, his kingly brow the Sire inclined ;  
The large, black curls fell awful from behind,  
Thick shadowing the stern forehead of the god :  
Olympus trembled at the almighty nod.* Il. I. 528.

TICKEL.

Strabo observes, that the god, though seated on his throne, reached with his head the vaulted roof ; so that, had he but raised himself up, the temple could not have contained him.

THE games here were solemnized after four years complete, whence arose the calculation by Olympiads ; and the time of their celebration was the full of the moon whose change immediately preceded the summer solstice. The priests of the Olympic temple had the care of regulating the form of the year, and observing every new moon, particularly of that moon in whose course the games

games were to be: they were also to register the Book  
 names of all the victors, and to record every ma- II.  
 terial circumstance that happened within each Sect. I.  
 Olympiad. It was esteemed the summit of glory  
 and felicity to be crowned at this solemnity: sove-  
 reign princes thought it an object worthy of their  
 ambition. Hiero of Syracuse, one of the greatest  
 princes of his days, courted the honour: and even  
 Philip of Macedon, though real encrease of empire  
 seemed to be his chief concern, numbered it  
 among the most fortunate events of his life, that  
 he obtained this boasted prize. Yet the prize itself  
 was of no greater intrinsic value than that at the  
 Isthmian games, being originally nothing more  
 than a crown composed of olive branches. It was  
 a tradition of the pagans, that Hercules had ap-  
 pointed it thus in order to teach men, that the  
 great reward they should contend for is *the praise*  
*of doing well*. The Idæan Hercules, as we have  
 observed before, was most probably the first insti-  
 tutor of the Olympic games; but as they were  
 frequently intermitted, and again at different pe-  
 riods restored and improved, therefore is the  
 foundation of them ascribed to different persons.  
 It is however certain, they were not celebrated  
 regularly till the days of Iphitus king of Elis,  
 about 776 years before Christ, which prince re-  
 stored these games by the advice of the oracle, as  
 the sure means of averting the anger of the gods  
 (for Peloponnesus was then in an afflicted state)  
 and of advancing the prosperity of his country.  
 The oracle did not deceive him. The Olympic  
 games made Elis flourish: and so highly were they  
 accounted of throughout Greece, that by the ge-  
 neral consent of the Grecian states it was resolved,  
 that the Eleans should enjoy their possessions with-  
 out molestation or fear of war, in consideration of  
 the part they bore in these solemnities, a part so  
much



BOOK much coveted by their neighbours the Pisans, that

II. it proved a bone of contention between the two  
Sect. 1. states for many years, till at length the Eleans obtained a complete victory, and raised the city of Pisa. It does not appear from ancient writers, that Elis was a part of Agamemnon's dominions. According to Homer, the Eleans sailed for Troy under the command of four leaders, each presiding over a squadron of ten ships. It may from hence be conjectured, that they were at this time cantoned into distinct principalities : and this seems to be confirmed by the war between the Pisans and those of Elis.

NEXT to Elis lies Triphylia, the capital of which small kingdom was Pylus, at some distance from the sea, towards the confines of Arcadia. Here reigned the wise Nestor, one of the few princes that returned from the fatal siege of Troy. His dominions extended on either side of the river Alpheus : but it appears evidently from Homer and Strabo, that Messenia was not subject to him. Probably indeed his posterity might take advantage of the many calamities that distracted the house of Agamemnon after the return from Troy, and possess themselves of part of the Messenian territory : and therefore do we find the family of Nestor settled here, when the Heraclidæ invaded Peloponnesus. But nevertheless the Pylus, which Homer speaks of as Nestor's royal seat, is certainly this which borders on Arcadia. Some confusion would naturally arise from there being three cities of the name, which geographers now distinguish, according to their situation, into Pylus Eliaca, of the Eleans—Triphylia, the city of Nestor—and Pylus Messeniaca, in the Messenian kingdom. In the days of Nestor the inhabitants of Triphylia appear to have been a brave, martial people : before their expedition to Troy, they had engaged in  
war

war against Hercules, though with ill success; and **Book**  
 Homer makes mention of a signal victory obtained **II.**  
 by them over their neighbour Augeas king of **Sect. I.**  
 Elis. A taste for poetry seems also to have been  
 early among them, as we find recorded the name  
 of Thamyris, a poet that came from Thrace into  
 these parts, whose exalted genius, Homer tells us, **II. II. 597.**  
 proved fatal to him. The Muses, envious of the  
 excellence of his strains, deprived him of his sight.  
 Whatever may be the truth concealed under this  
 fiction, it is easy to judge from the manner of re-  
 lating the misfortune of the unhappy Thamyris,  
 how high was the fame of the antient bard.

**SOUTH** of Triphylia, in the S. W. extremity of  
 Peloponnesus, is the kingdom of Messenia. On  
 the east of it are Laconia and the Messenian bay; its  
 southern coast is washed by the Mediterranean,  
 its western by the Ionian sea; and toward the  
 north it extended as far as the city of Cyparissia.  
 This country, besides the advantages of a maritime  
 situation, enjoyed the blessings of a soft climate  
 and fruitful soil; so that, in its days of liberty, it  
 might justly be accounted one of the happiest  
 spots in Peloponnesus. In the inland parts was  
 Messena, the principal city, remarkable for the  
 strength of its citadel built on the top of Ithome, a  
 very high mountain, which commanded the south-  
 ern tract of Peloponnesus, as Acrocorinthus, the  
 mountain on which stood the citadel of Corinth,  
 commanded the northern. It was the observation  
 of Demetrius Phalereus, that Peloponnesus might  
 be compared to a bull, and these two mountains  
 to its horns, which if a man could once hold firm,  
 the whole peninsula must submit to him. The  
 name of the country, however, preceded that of  
 its capital Messena, which was not built till later  
 ages. That it owned the power of the house of  
 Pelops is undeniable, since Agamemnon in Homer  
 offers

BOOK offers seven of the cities of Messenia, with the

II. fairest of his daughters, to Achilles, as the price  
 Sect. 1. of his return to the Grecian army: whence the country must either have belonged to him, or to his brother Menelaus. Indeed most authors are of opinion, that in those days it made part of the kingdom of Sparta. So that all Peloponnesus, with the exception of Elis and Triphylia, was either subject to the Pelopian family, or tributary to them; and even these two districts could not but respect a power, with which they were so little able to contend. Orestes, as we have seen, obtained possession of the thrones of Mycenæ and Sparta: but probably Agamemnon's domestic troubles, and the usurpation of Ægisthus, had contributed to weaken the empire of Mycenæ; for the kingdoms of Arcadia, of Achaia, and Corinth appear at this time to have thrown off the yoke of dependency. Orestes, after a long reign, was succeeded by his son Tisamenes, in whose days happened the memorable return of the Heraclidæ, related in a former section, which gave an entire change to the affairs of Peloponnesus, and put an end to the glory of the house of Pelops.

If we pass now to the other side of the Isthmus, the country that first demands our notice is Atticæ. It is bounded to the west by Bœotia, to the north by the Euripus or Eubœan streights, to the east by the Ægean sea, and to the south by the gulph of Saron. Its whole extent from north-west to south-east did not much exceed sixty miles, and in the opposite direction it was about fifty six; and even this scanty portion of territory was, for the greater part, a rough and rugged soil. Such was the native residence of a people foremost among all the nations of the earth, distinguished both in arts and arms, and by the glory of their exploits, and the  
 excellence



excellence of their improvements, justly to be accounted the boast of the pagan world!

II.

Book II.  
Sect. 1.

WE have already given a sketch of the early history of Athens. Menestheus, who led the Athenians to Troy, died on his return from that war; and Demophoon, son to Theseus, was restored to the throne of his fathers. After him reigned his son Oxyntes, and after Oxyntes, Aphydas. These reigns afford little worth reciting, except the establishment of a court for the particular cognisance of murder, called the court of the Ephetæ, the institution of which is generally ascribed to Demophoon. Aphydas was murdered by Thymoetes, natural son to Oxyntes, who usurped the throne, but did not long enjoy the fruits of his villainy. Xanthus king of Bœotia had a contest with the Athenians about one of their frontier towns, and offered to decide the matter with Thymoetes by single combat: this the usurper, who had not virtue enough to be truly brave, declined. It happened that Melanthus, a noble Messenian who had fled from before the Heraclidæ, was then at Athens, and having offered himself as champion on the part of Athens, he killed Xanthus. The Athenians deposed their dastardly king, to bestow the sovereignty on the stranger. To the good fortune of their countryman Melanthus, who is supposed to have been of the royal house of Nestor, were the Nestoridæ and Messenians indebted for the kind reception they met with in Attica, after they had been forced out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

MELANTHUS was succeeded by his son Codrus, with whom ended the title and succession of kings at Athens. The occasion is extremely remarkable. The Heraclidæ and Dorians, who had now strengthened themselves in Peloponnesus, were preparing to extend their power into Attica, and

B o o k had already taken Megara, a city tributary to the

II. Athenians. The oracle had promised them success, provided they did not kill the Athenian king.

Sect. 1. Whoever was the inspirer of this oracle, Codrus took a noble advantage of it : he introduced himself in disguise into the enemy's camp, and provoked a fray in which he lost his life. The superstition of the times made this decisive ; so that the Dorians, finding they had slain the king, retired from the Attic territories. Admiration at the exploit of Codrus moved the Athenians to resolve, that no person should bear the regal title after him : they changed the name of King therefore into that of Archon, which office was at first for life, but afterwards was limited to ten years, and at last to one only. So singular was the fate of the Athenian people ! Other states changed their form of government on account of the crimes and tyranny of their princes : the Athenians altered theirs out of a grateful veneration to the memory of this great king. But besides the cause assigned for it by antient writers, the revolution was probably hastened by that love of liberty of which the Athenians had earlier notions than any other people of Greece. We have observed already, that the privileges of the people were considerably enlarged in the days of Theseus : from that time the kings appear to have had a very contracted power, being indeed little more than generals for life. The same spirit continued at Athens in its greatest vigour for many generations. And had it only animated them to the assertion and defence of freedom, it had been their security and happiness. But unfortunately it degenerated at length into a spirit of discord and contention : each individual of the people endeavoured to make a shew of his own importance, and to become a chief ruler ; and the best and ablest servants of the state were sacrificed

ficed to popular jealousy. Of this evil, too frequent in *democracies*, we shall see many instances in the course of the Athenian history. But to return to our survey.

TOWARDS the Corinthian Isthmus is Megara, the city we have just mentioned as having fallen under the power of the Dorians. It had long been a part of the Athenian dominions : but from this time an irreconcilable hatred subsisted between those of Attica and the Megareans. The territories of the latter were extremely confined : they were hemmed in by the Corinthians, the Bœotians, and the Athenians, and possessed only a small portion of the sea-coast where the port of Nisea was. Their situation also exposed them to frequent wars ; for whenever the neighbouring states attacked each other, the Megareans were obliged to take part in the quarrel : and indeed, whenever the Athenians were concerned, their natural jealousy of Athens generally led them to engage against her.

ON the Saronic gulph Athens stands, that city which was destined to raise the glory of Greece to its highest degree of splendor. Its port, called the Pirean, was joined to the city by walls, though distant from it upwards of five miles. Three harbours had nature formed in this capacious port ; and as the naval power of the Athenians encreased, art added every thing that might strengthen and adorn it : so that for the greatness of its works, the magnificence of its buildings, the multitude of seamen and artificers that were here constantly employed, the variety of wares imported, and the frequency of merchants flowing in to it from all parts of the world, it might justly be esteemed not less worthy of admiration than the city of Athens itself. Before the improvement of the Pireum,

Phalerum



BOOK Phalerum was the only harbour the Athenians

II. were possessed of, a station narrow and inconvenient.  
Sect. I.

SOMEWHAT farther up the bay of Saron is Eleusis, whence the Eleusinian rites had their name. Here, it was fabled, Ceres landed; and to this place did the sacred procession march from Athens, when the mystical feasts were celebrated.—Acharnæ, in the inland parts, was one of the Attic *demoi*, or hamlets: for in this manner, as we have related, was Attica inhabited in early days, till Theseus incorporated all the dispersed villagers into one city; and hence were the Athenian families, in all public acts, distinguished by the name of the *hamlet* to which they originally belonged.—Hymettus and Pentelicus are two mountains, both celebrated for their marble quarries; and the first still more renowned for its honey, and the fragrance of the aromatic herbs it abounded in.—Towards the northern coast lies Marathon, exalted to fame by the virtue of the Athenian people, which on that spot triumphed over the power of Persia.—And nearer to the sea is the village of Rhamnus, where stood a remarkable statue of Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance: it was the work of Phidias, and was dedicated by the Athenians in memory of their deliverance at Marathon. It is said, that the block of marble out of which it was made was brought hither by the Persians, to be erected as a monument of their expected victory.—To the east are Phyle and Decelea, two forts of small account in themselves, but rendered considerable by the exploits to which they were witnesses.—At Laurium, not far from Decelea, were the silver mines of Attica.—And within some few miles of Laureum was the promontory of Sunium, esteemed by geographers the extreme eastern point of Greece.—Off Sunium is a small island bearing the name

name of Helena, because it was the place to which B o o k  
 Paris conducted the ill-fated Helen, when he II.  
 sailed from the Spartan coast. Sect. I.

THE other islands which appear at some distance in the Ægean sea, are the Cyclades, so called from their lying in a circle, or rather in a semicircle, around Delos. The name at first was given to twelve only of those islands : but in succeeding times some others were comprised under the same title. The most remarkable of these were Andros, Ceos, Cythnus, Siphnus, Tenos, Paros, Naxos, Syros, Melos, and Delos : all these were fertile, pleasant islands, of rich soil, and well attuned climate. Ceos particularly boasted its fair pastures and excellent fruits ; so that, as the poets sing, Aristeus the great improver of rural arts passed over from Bœotia, and fixed his abode here. This was also the native country of the two Simonides, the elder of whom was the inventor of funeral verse, whence a mournful lay has obtained the appellation of *Cœa Nænïa*, a Cean dirge. Pliny tells us, that this island was at length dreadfully torn by an earthquake, and a great part of it buried in the deep.—Paros was famed for its marble, which, we are told, was of exquisite whiteness, and susceptible of the finest polish.—Tenos was happy in the number of its fine springs, whence it was called *Hydrussa*, the island of waters.—Naxos was celebrated on account of its delicious wines ; and therefore was it feigned to be dear to Bacchus, and supposed to be honoured with his immediate presence.—But the most renowned of all the Cyclades was Delos, said to be the birth place of Apollo and Diana, because probably this was the place in which the Egyptian sages first established the worship of those deities. Their rites were solemnized here with much religion and magnificence by all the nations around, and the whole island

BOOK island was esteemed sacred to them, being on this

II. account revered even by hostile barbarians as the  
Sect. 1. dwelling of the gods: here also the common treasure of Greece was for many years laid up, as in a depository holy and not to be violated. After the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, the situation of this island drew to it a great part of the Corinthian trade, and it became as eminent for its commerce as it had been for its superstitions.—The other Cyclades are scarcely worth notice. Rhene was remarkable for little more, than its being the burial place of the Delians; for it was esteemed a profanation to bury in Delos. Seriphus, Prepesinthus, Olearus, Cimolus, Gyarus, were small barren islands, whose inhabitants made a very inconsiderable figure in history. Accordingly, the answer of Themistocles was apposite to a man of Seriphus, who told him, that the honours the Spartans had paid him after the victory at Salamis were meant not to him, but to his country: ‘True,’ replied Themistocles, ‘for certainly I should not have been honoured thus, had I been a Seriphian; but neither would you, though you had been of Athens.’ And Gyarus, it is well known, was so rough and inhospitable, that the Romans frequently sent their criminals to spend the remainder of their days in this place of wretchedness.—There are many more islands both to the east and to the south of these; but they either belong to Asia, or are to be numbered among the Sporades, of which we have already made mention.

FEW of these islands were able for any considerable time to retain their independence, excepting Melos, which, according to Thucydides, enjoyed its liberties for 700 years before the Peloponnesian war. Most of the others fell under subjection to the state that was possessed of the greatest maritime power.



power. They were first peopled, as it is supposed, by adventurers from Egypt, from Caria, and Phœnicia : and afterwards Minos, having acquired a numerous fleet, subdued many of them. Agamemnon was the next Grecian prince, that was formidable at sea ; and accordingly he also reigned over them. But the royal house of Mycenæ being weakened by distractions, and some years after, the Heraclidæ entering Peloponnesus, the dominion of the sea passed to the Asiatic nations or to the Greeks of Asia Minor ; and so it was when the Persians invaded Greece, most of the islands confederating with those of Asia. The victory at Salamis brought on another revolution : the Athenians claimed the empire of the sea, and the islands were forced to submit to the arms of that brave people. Indeed the Athenians seem, from their very situation, to have enjoyed many opportunities of improving their naval strength, Attica being surrounded by the sea on every side, except to the west and north-west, where it was bounded by the Bœotian and Megarean territories. Accordingly Strabo takes notice, that the name of this country was originally *Actica*, from *Actè*, the sea-shore.

NORTH-WEST of Attica is Bœotia. It extended from the Attic borders to Phocis, and was bounded to the north by the Euripus, and to the south by the gulph of Corinth. The first city that meets our observation is Plateæ, rendered illustrious by the undaunted bravery of its people, and their inviolate faith to Athens. Together with those of Thespiæ, a city somewhat more to the west, they stood forth in opposition to all the rest of Bœotia, and at utmost hazard refused to betray the liberties of their country, when the Persians invaded Greece. From that time, the strictest amity subsisted between them and the inhabitants of Attica. And so dear did the Plateans hold this friendship, that

BOOK that afterwards, when Greece was harrassed by

II. domestic war, and a powerful confederacy was  
 Sect. I. formed against the Athenians, these generous allies chose rather to meet their own ruin, than to renounce their connection with the Athenian people. — North of Plateæ, on the river Ismenus, is Thebes, the capital city of the Bœotians, of which poetic story records such wonderful things; whose inhabitants sprung from a serpent's teeth, and whose walls rose up as Amphion touched his lyre. Here Semele had her birth; and here reigned Laius, and his ill-fated progeny. But after the days of fiction were passed, the Theban name seems to have sunk into obscurity 'till the time of Epaminondas, whose virtues and signal exploits advanced his country to high honour, and gave her a place among the most illustrious of the states of Greece, notwithstanding the imputation of dulness under which Bœotia had the misfortune to labour, so as to become the jest of the wits of old. The air of this district happened to be thick and gross, occasioned probably by the morasses in which the lower parts abounded: and this, together with the unlucky circumstance of a near neighbourhood to Athens, the first city in the world for genius and arts, exposed the poor Bœotians to much raillery. However, in after ages this reproach was in some measure taken off; for Bœotia had the honour of producing one of the greatest poets Greece ever saw, the famed Pindar, and two generals and statesmen, as much distinguished by the superiority of their abilities as by the integrity of their manners, Pelopidas and the Epaminondas just now mentioned: not to say any thing of that excellent historian Plutarch, who more properly belongs to the times of the Roman empire. But that the bulk of this people were credulous and given to superstition may not unfairly

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fairly be collected from the establishment amongst them of two oracles, less subtle in their contrivance than any of which we find mention in other places: these were the Trophonian cave, and that of Amphiaraus. Trophonius was a Bœotian, eminent for his skill in architecture, and who had been employed in building the temple at Delphi. He was destroyed by an earthquake at Lebadia near the lake Copais, the earth opening, and swallowing him up, as Pausanias relates the story. The manner of his death moved the superstitious Bœotians to number him among their gods: an oracle was also established under the inspection of this new divinity, the method of consulting which was extremely singular. The enquirer was obliged to shove himself, feet foremost, into the entrance of the cavern, and was afterwards drawn forcibly into the inner parts of it by somewhat like the violence of a rapid river. Here he remained, perhaps eight and forty hours, perhaps longer, 'till in the end he was in the same manner forced out again. Whatever happened during this time, it is said, that they who came out of the cave had their countenances strangely distracted with horror and amazement, appearing entirely forgetful both of themselves and of those around them; but, on being delivered into the hands of the priests, they were *by their assistance* enabled to recollect what they had heard, and to give distinct accounts of the oracle. Pausanias tells us, that the priests placed them on the throne of Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory. It happened in the days of Demetrius, that a soldier of his guard went down to observe how the illusion was carried on, or, according to Pausanias, to bear away some of the rich offerings that adorned Trophonius' shrine; but his design being discovered, such effectual care was taken of him, that he was never heard of more,



**BOOK** more.—The other oracle in Bœotia, that of Am-

**II.** phiarus, was placed at Oropus, a city on the con-  
**Sect. I.** fines of this country and Attica. Amphiarus was one of the seven chieftains who marched against Thebes, in the first Theban war. His fate bears a near resemblance to that of Trophonius; for the earth, as it is said, having opened and closed upon him, he also became a god, and had his oracle. It is generally believed, that he was lost in some river of Bœotia, and that flattery to Alcmaeon his son gave rise to the fiction. However, this oracle was delivered in dreams; for Amphiarus, when living, was famed for his skill in interpreting them. They who were desirous to consult him were to offer him up a ram in sacrifice, and then to sleep on the skin of the victim: whatever dreams they had, they were to account them sent by Amphiarus. If they had none of these, undoubtedly it was occasioned by some improper observance of the rites of Amphiarus: and if they dreamed at all, it was no difficult matter for a superstitious bigot to mould his dream to the purpose he had in view, and to imagine it significative and pertinent.—The first form of government under which the Bœotians lived appears to have been the regal. Thersander, son to Polynices, reigned at Thebes, as we have observed, at the time of the Trojan expedition: he is said to have been slain in Mysia, before he reached Troy. From Homer it may be conjectured, that besides Thebes there were other sovereignties in this part of Greece, for he marshals the Bœotians under five princes. Be that as it may, it is certain that Tisamenes, son to Thersander, reigned in Thebes after the Trojan war. He was succeeded by Damisichthon,, son to Peneleus, a noble Theban, and one of the leaders at the siege of Troy. After Damisichthon reigned Xanthus, who was killed, as we mentioned above,  
in

in Attica, and was the last that enjoyed regal dignity. When he was dead, a republic was established among the Thebans; and in this form did their government continue for many generations. The persons to whom the supreme authority, or executive power, was entrusted were seven in number, and chosen annually: they were called the Bœotarchs, or captains of the Bœotian people.

THE island of Eubœa, adjoining to Bœotia, does not appear to have been subject to the Bœotian power, though we are told it was antiently joined to it by an isthmus, and afterwards by a bridge; for the Euripus was extremely narrow in some parts, especially between Aulis and Chalcis. Aulis, on the Bœotian side, was the port where the Grecian chiefs assembled in confederacy against Troy: and Chalcis was the principal city of the Eubœans. Indeed in process of time numbers of Athenians established themselves along the south-west coast, and got possession of some considerable cities. Such was Oreos, originally called Histiaæa. Such also was Eretria, which was destroyed by the Persians, but rebuilt afterwards with great splendor.—The Euripus is a strait, remarkable for the frequency and irregularity of its tides. It is said, that it ebbs and flows seven times in one day, and even, at certain periods of the moon, much oftener. The cause of these extraordinary agitations has been diligently sought after both by antients and moderns: but there seem not to be as yet any accounts, that sufficiently explain the strange fluctuation.—The compass alone of Eubœa, which is 365 miles, could not but render it an island of considerable note: but it commanded attention still more by the bravery of its inhabitants, and their early skill in navigation. No people were more famed for colonies: we find cities founded by them in Macedonia, in Thessaly, in Sicily, Corcyra,

BOOK cyra, Italy, and many other parts. Nauplius,

II. father to Palamedes, appears to have reigned over

Sect. 1. a part only of this island; for Elephenor is mentioned by Homer, in his review of the Grecian forces, as the king and leader of the Eubœans. It may be supposed, that the entire command devolved to him after the death of Palamedes and his father. The point of Caphareus to the south-east, in the Hellepont, is the place where the Grecian ships were wrecked in their return from Troy. In the infant days of navigation, the doubling of this cape was esteemed extremely dangerous, by reason of its many rocks and quicksands; and Nauplius, as we have mentioned, to revenge himself on the Greeks for the death of his son, lighted up fires, as tokens of a safe harbour, which proved too successful in drawing the Greeks to the fatal coast. At the other end of the island is the city and promontory of Artemisium, rendered famous by the first victory obtained by the Greeks over the fleets of Xerxes.—Soon after the Trojan war, the Eubœans formed themselves into several small republics, and each city was governed by its own laws, the administration being in the hands of the nobles. But this form of government was frequently disturbed by domestic troubles, as well as by the other Grecian states: for their fate generally depended on that of Greece; and as the balance of power on the continent changed hands, so their government underwent some new alteration.

WESTWARD of Bœotia is Phocis. This was a country for extent scarcely to be noticed, yet distinguished in history on account of the martial spirit of its inhabitants. From north to south it reaches only thirty five miles, and not more than thirty from east to west, and in some parts not above twenty. Who could think, that such a state



state should be able to maintain wars not only B o o k  
 against the nations of Theffaly, which they did II.  
 often-times fuccessfully, but even against the united Sect. 1.  
 powers of Greece? Though confined in later times  
 by the territories of the Locri, Phocis extended  
 antiently much farther—to the Eubœan sea—and  
 according to some authors, even to the streights  
 of Thermopylæ, near the Theffalian borders. This  
 neighbourhood gave occasion to very early jealous-  
 ies between these two brave nationes, and brought  
 on a deep-rooted hatred. The strength of the  
 Theffalians consisted in their horse; and Phocis,  
 on the confines of Theffaly, was very mountain-  
 ous, and of rugged access. These different ad-  
 vantages made the fortune of war incline now to  
 the one side, and now to the other. If the en-  
 gagement happened in the plain country, the  
 Phocians were worsted: when the Phocians could  
 draw those of Theffaly into parts rough and of un-  
 sure footing, their horse became usefess, and the  
 Phocians obtained the victory. However at length  
 one of their commanders with three hundred men  
 meeting with a body of Theffalian horse, he and  
 his whole party were trampled to death, or cut to  
 pieces. This was a grievous loss to a people,  
 whose forces were extremely few in number: ac-  
 cordingly it threw them into the greatest conster-  
 nation, and determined them to embrace a measure  
 not to be thought of without shuddering. Before  
 they marched to battle, they secured in a conven-  
 ient place the statues of their gods, their wives and  
 children, and near it raised a large pile of wood:  
 this they committed to the care of thirty the bold-  
 est of their men, with orders, if they lost the day,  
 to murder the women and the children, set fire  
 to the pile, and at once to consume all the remains  
 of the Phocian people. After these orders given,  
 they went, against the enemy, determined never  
 to

BOOK to return unless victorious. Such desperate fury

II. was not to be withstood : the Thessalians fled, and

Sect. 1. Phocis was preserved. We shall find in some time the Phocians engaged in another war, which they maintained with an intrepidity little inferior to this.—As to their government, Homer tells us, that at the siege of Troy they were under the command of two princes ; but it is likely they soon became a free state, as there is not any account in history of the kings that reigned over them. And indeed this unconquered spirit of theirs speaks a people accustomed to liberty : at least, if they had kings over them, their power must have been greatly limited. No tract of Greece afforded more scope to the fictions of antient poetry, than Phocis. Here were the celebrated mountains of Parnassus and Helicon, where Apollo and the Muses were feigned to have established their favourite residence ; and at the foot of Parnassus was the Castalian spring, consecrated to the same inspirers and patrons of verse. It may naturally be conjectured, that they owed their celebrity to the happy invention of some antient Phocian bard, this country being remarkable for the poetical turn of its inhabitants. The land of freedom has always been the nursery of literature : and among a people fond of independency, as the Phocians were, a number of shining geniuses might well have made their appearance.—On the side of Parnassus we find another place of great note, the city of Delphi, where was held the convention of the Amphiſtyonic states, and (what is still more worthy of attention) where stood the temple of the Pythian Apollo, whose oracles were the boast of the pagan world. But of both these causes of the fame of Delphi we have spoken largely already. Crissa was the seaport of the people of Delphi. In the earlier ages, it was a distinct state :  
but

but the Crisseans having impiously levied tribute on those who came to consult the oracle, war was denounced against them; their city was taken, and the soil of their country dedicated to the god. More of this war will be found in the sequel of our history.

ON either side of Phocis the Locrians dwelt; to the west the Locri Ozolæ, to the east the Locri Epicnemidii and Opuntii. It was over these last, as appears from Homer, that Ajax the son of Oileus reigned: they were situate between Phocis and the Eubœan gulph, with Bœotia to the south-east, and Theffaly to the north-west. The Epicnemidii possessed the parts near the Maliac bay; the Opuntii dwelt higher up, on the Euripus. As for the Locri Ozolæ, they were placed on the other side of Phocis, in a very small territory between Phocis and Attica, and in time were incorporated with the Ætolian people. The name of Locrians was attributed to them all, because originally they were one people, those of the east and west having had a communication one with the other by those mountains which divide Theffaly from the rest of Greece. And it is likely that the Ozolæ and Opuntians were colonies of the Locri Epicnemidii, as these were the only Locrians who had a right to send deputies to the Amphictyonic council. The Opuntians had their appellation from the city Opus on the Eubœan gulph, and the Epicnemidii from the mountain Cnemis. The Ozoleans sought the etymology of their name in antient fable: it was derived, say they, from a word which in Greek signifies *to stink*, because this whole country was infected by the putrid smell of the carcase of the monster Python; for it was here Apollo slew him.—To Locris Epicnemidia belonged the streights of Thermopylæ, that famed pass, the scene of one of the greatest actions that ever



BOOK ever people durst perform. It lieth between mount

II. Cæta and the Maliac bay, and was named Ther-  
Sect. I. mopylæ, *the gates of the hot baths*, from the narrowness of the passage, and the hot springs that were in the neighbourhood of it. In Locris Ozolæa one place only is entitled to notice, the city Naupactus on the Crissean gulph, where, as we have related already, the Heraclidæ made their preparations for invading Peloponnesus.

NEXT to Locris Ozolæa is Ætolia: to the west, it is joined by Acarnania; the gulph of Crissa bounds it southward, and Doris to the north. It ran about fifty miles from north to south, but was not above twenty miles from east to west, and in some places scarcely ten. It is the same country which, from Calydon one of its antient kings, was called Calydonia, and was the birth-place of Meleager, and the principal scene of his adventures. The river Achelous, which runs through it is famous for the combat it sustained with Hercules. The river-god, say the poets, transformed himself into a bull; but Hercules tore off his horn, and obtained the victory: this horn was afterwards changed into *the horn of plenty*. The truth is, this river laid waste the country by its frequent inundations, 'till Hercules reduced it within its proper channel, and restored fertility to the Ætolian plains. However from this poetical account we may observe, in what honour the greatest princes of old held the culture and improvement of a country, and how highly such public benefits were esteemed even in those less refined ages: they were numbered among the most signal exploits which their heroes had performed.—Ceneus, father to Meleager and Tydeus, and grandfather to Diomedes, was king of Ætolia; but before the siege of Troy, the sceptre had passed into another line. Some generations after, Ætolia became a free state; and Thermum, their chief

chief city, received the name of Panætolum, be- Book  
 cause the deputies of all Ætolia were wont to as- II.  
 semble here. The Ætolians were a people re- Sect. I.  
 markable for a brutal courage, and for the fre-  
 quent depredations they committed in the neigh-  
 bouring parts. Besides this, there is little worth  
 relating of them; for their name is seldom to be  
 met with in any of the nobler transactions of the  
 Grecian people until the times of the Achean  
 league, as they affected to live in the strong holds  
 which their craggy and inaccessible mountains af-  
 forded them, except when they were invited down  
 by the hopes of plunder.

NORTH of Ætolia lies the country of those war-  
 like Doreans, who entered Peloponnesus with the  
 Heraclidæ. They are remarkable in history for  
 their dialect, their music, and their style of archi-  
 tecture, in all which there was a manliness of  
 strength, which seems to have been peculiar to  
 them, and continued to be their distinguishing  
 character even long after they had been settled in  
 Peloponnesus. Their country was of very small  
 extent, from north to south only forty miles, and  
 about twenty from east to west, containing ac-  
 cording to Strabo only four cities, Erineus, Boi-  
 um, Pindus, and Cytinium; on which account  
 also it is known by the title of Dorica Tetrapolis.

ACARNANIA has the Ionian sea for its bounda-  
 ry on the west and south: to the north it borders  
 on Epirus, of which also in latter days it became a  
 province. Remarkable in this district is the pro-  
 montory Leucate, antiently joined to the conti-  
 nent by a narrow isthmus, which the Corinthians  
 cut through, so as to render the promontory an  
 island. This place has obtained a name in history  
 for more than one reason. It was the spot from  
 which hopeless lovers leaped down into the sea, to  
 cure themselves of their fatal passion. Here also

BOOK it was the custom annually to precipitate a criminal

II. from the top of the promontory, by way of  
Sect. I. atonement to the gods, particularly to Apollo. If he escaped with life, he was nevertheless deemed accursed, and banished the territories of Acarnania. The promontory was of an amazing height, and on the top of it was Apollo's temple, which was to be seen from far: the coast beneath was extremely rocky, and *infamous* for shipwrecks;

JEn. 3. 275. and hence is this temple called by Virgil *formidatus nautis Apollo*, the seaman's terror. Beyond this northward, at the entrance of the Ambracian bay, is the city of Actium, memorable for that important sea-fight that gave the empire of the world to Augustus. Geographers usually ascribe this town to Epirus, because though antiently this part of Greece was divided into several small districts, each with peculiar names, as Acarnania, Amphilochia, Thesprotia, Molossis, Epirus, Chaonia, yet in time these names were lost, and the whole coast from Leucate to Illyricum was called Epirus.

HERE was the kingdom of Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who reigned over a part of this coast, after his return from Troy. When he was dead, his kingdom fell to Helenus, one of the sons of Priam, whom Pyrrhus had brought captive into Greece. As Epirus was the western extremity of the Grecian continent, this circumstance gave birth to many fables which the poets have related concerning it. For the countries that lay far west were in the language of ancient Greece called *the infernal regions*, and the adventures which their princes had there were said to be in *the realms of darkness*. It may be observed, that Cocytus and Acheron, two of the poetical rivers of hell, are real rivers in the Thesprotian territories. Cities of note in this tract of country are Argos Amphilochium,



lochium, so called by its founder Alcmaeon, the B o o k  
 son of Amphiaraus, in honour of his brother Am- II.  
 philochus—Ambracia, above the gulph—and on Sect. 1.  
 the other side, on a point of land that runs into the  
 sea, Nicopolis, *the city of victory*, built and denomi-  
 nated by Augustus in memory of his victory over  
 Antony: this last was adorned with so many valua-  
 ble privileges, as to become in a short time one of  
 the most flourishing cities of the Epirotes.

FARTHER north, the Acroceraunian mountains  
 rise to the eye. They are noted for the tempests  
 that dwell continually on their high-raised summit,  
 and the swelling sea and dangerous shelves that  
 guard them beneath. Their very name is full of  
 terror, Acroceraunia, or *mountains of thunder*.—  
 On the borders of Molossis we trace Dodona, fa-  
 mous for the oracle of Jupiter, which Herodotus  
 would have us believe to be the most antient oracle  
 of all Greece. He gives two different accounts of  
 it, which are both very remarkable. The one he  
 had from the priests of Jupiter at Thebes in Egypt:  
 they told him, that some Phœnicians had carried  
 away two priestesses from that place, one of which  
 they sold into Lybia, the other into Greece; that  
 each of these erected an oracle, and instituted the  
 worship of Jupiter where they settled, that of the  
 Dodonean Jupiter in Greece, and that of Jupiter  
 Hammon in Libya. The other account was from  
 the priestesses at Dodona, who told him, that *two*  
*black pigeons* took their flight from Thebes in Egypt,  
 and settled, the one in Libya, the other at Do-  
 dona, each of which, speaking with a human  
 voice, ordered that an oracle should be instituted  
 to Jupiter. The story affords proof, how fond the  
 Greeks were of veiling plain facts under mysterious  
 covers. Perhaps among the Egyptians a *black*  
*dove* was the hieroglyphic of a *priestess*. This was  
 foundation enough for a fable, and the legend

BOOK was credulously received by the succeeding generations.—But there is not occasion to say more of Sect. I. this part of Greece. Their history, at least in the ages of which we are to treat, offers scarcely any thing worthy of notice. Let us only take a cursory view of the islands, that lie off the Epirian coast.

THE principal of these, Corcyra, is an island of considerable extent, whose inhabitants were esteemed among the ablest mariners of Greece. Thucydides tells us, they were for some time masters of the sea; and Herodotus, that they had more ships than any other Grecian people, the Athenians excepted. They are said to have been a colony of Corinthians; but they soon grew up into a flourishing, powerful state, and at length became able to dispute the superiority with Corinth herself. More to the south is a cluster of islands called the Echinades, within a short way of the coast of Acarnania. And beyond them are Cephalenia antiently called Samus, Ithaca, and Zacynthus, whose chief glory is their having been the kingdom of the wise Ulysses. The other islands marked in the map off the coast of Peloponnesus, among which are those named the Strophades, have little besides strange fabulous tales to entertain us with.

WE may now return to the continent. The northern limits of Greece are Thessaly, Macedonia, and we may add Illyricum, one portion of which was undoubtedly Grecian, though the other belonged to the Barbarians. The Grecian part was inhabited by colonies that settled along the Adriatic gulph, extending themselves from the territory of Lissus to the river Celydnus. In this tract are comprised several cities of eminence, Dyrrachium, Apollonia, Aulon, Amantia, most of which increased greatly in wealth and splendor, when the Romans were become the arbiters of the fate of Greece.

Greece. In those days, Apollonia was in high esteem for arts and letters : here Augustus had his education, and was pursuing his studies in this place at the very time when Julius Cæsar was slain. B o o k II. Sect. 1.

—Dyrrachium likewise, or Epidamnus, for such was its original name, flourished remarkably under the empire of Rome, and became the richest mart and most frequented sea port of all Greece, as Brundisium lay convenient to it, the greatest number of those who had occasion to pass between Italy and Greece making their way by Dyrrachium. This city, as well as Apollonia, was founded by those of Corcyra, and is accounted the last city of Illyricum the Grecian.

EASTWARD of Epire and Illyricum is Thessaly, situate along the Ægean sea and the Thermaic gulph, otherwise called the gulph of Thessalonica. Antiently this was the utmost frontier of Greece ; for Macedonia and the countries adjacent received the name of Grecian only in later days. Of course it lay open greatly to foreign invasions, and to the insults of whatever adventurers entered Greece by land. And for this reason were the Thessalians, from early ages, inured to war : they were particularly eminent for their skill in horsemanship, a circumstance which accounts for the fiction of the centaurs having its origin here. Many generations after, the Thessalian horse maintained the same character, their merit having contributed not a little to Alexander's successes, who distinguished and rewarded it in an extraordinary manner. It was among this people also the Argonautic expedition took its rise. The city Pagasæ, within the Pagasæan gulph, is the place where the ship Argo was built ; and near it is the city Aphetæ, whence sailed the Argonauts : so that Thessaly had the honour of sending out the first fleet that was ever equipped on the Grecian coast. And  
indeed



BOOK indeed even before this, from the first dawn of  
 II. improvement in Greece, Thessaly began to flourish,  
 Sect. I. and in it reigned many princes of great name  
 in the history of the first Grecian times. Here  
 was seated old Deucalion, to whom most of the  
 royal houses of Greece owed their origin; and  
 here was the antient Hellas, the kingdom of Hellen,  
 Deucalion's son. Here likewise, to the south of  
 Pagasæ, was the city of Iolchos, where Pelias  
 was king. In the time also of the Trojan war,  
 Thessaly made a considerable figure, and Homer  
 numbers up several illustrious princes from these  
 parts. In Phthia was the kingdom of the Myrmidons,  
 the inheritance of the bold Achilles. In Melibœa  
 Philoctetes reigned. The realm of Tricca in up-  
 per Thessaly belonged to Machaon and Podalirius,  
 the two sons of Æsculapius, famed not less for  
 their knowledge of simples than for their bravery  
 in battle. And Antron, together with the neigh-  
 bouring coast on the Maliac gulph, was subject to  
 the gallant Protefilaus, the first that dared to leap  
 forth from the Grecian ships, and engage the ar-  
 mies of Troy. At the time of this expedition,  
 therefore, Thessaly was divided into several sove-  
 reignties; and from Homer it appears, that it  
 formed nine distinct states. It was afterwards dis-  
 tinguished into four departments or cantons, The-  
 saliotis, Estiæotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis. The  
 two first were the upper, as the last were the lower  
 Thessaly. The whole country is extolled by an-  
 tient writers for the beauty of its situation and its  
 fertility of soil: twenty-four hills are counted in  
 it, among which are a number of fair dales, inter-  
 spersed with several delightful rivers. But the  
 chief glory of Thessaly was Tempe, described as  
 exceeding all the vales in the world for romantic  
 appearance, and the richness and verdure of its  
 pasturages. It lay beneath the mountains of Ossa,  
 Pelion,

Pelion, and Olympus, whose craggy tops seemed to reach the heavens: below through deep meadows ran the river Peneus, which emptied itself into the sea between Olympus and Ossa. Fame says, that antiently the whole vale was one lake, Olympus and Ossa being joined together, so that the river had not any way of discharging its waters: but Neptune, feign the poets, struck his trident against the mountains, and separated them. —In the lower Thessaly Pharsalia is situated, on whose fatal plain Cæsar triumphed over the liberties of his country. Long ere this happened, had the Romans imposed the yoke on Greece; and now Greece saw the day, when Rome herself lost her freedom, and felt the scourge of tyrants. Such in all ages has been the fate of the kingdoms of the earth. Liberty and empire are obtained and lost again, as nations rise to virtue, or sink into dissoluteness. Greece, enervated through luxury and vice, fell an easy prey to the ambition of Rome; and when Rome, venal and corrupted, was no longer able to preserve her liberties, Cæsar stepped in, and enslaved her, as she had enslaved the world before. We shall have abundant occasion of verifying to ourselves this important maxim in the history of the several states of Greece. We have seen how low were their beginnings, without either supply of treasure, or extent of territory. We shall behold them exalted to a state of great prosperity, and the terror of mighty princes. And yet, when their former worth is diminished, soon shall all that glory be at an end, and they shall again become an insignificant, weak people.

LET us cast our eyes to the north of Thessaly, and in the fortunes of the kingdom of Macedonia we shall clearly discern, what is the strength of virtue and uncorrupted manners. The Macedonians were a people inconsiderable in number,  
pent

BOOK pent up within narrow limits, harrassed by every

II. state around them, and for many generations

SECT. 1. maintaining at utmost hazard their precarious liberties. Nevertheless, under all these distresses they preserved minds unbroken : from being engaged in continual wars, they became expert in arms ; and penury at home, and danger abroad, rendered them temperate, hardy, adventurous. Hence by degrees they rose superior to all the difficulties that environed them : they repelled their enemies ; they enlarged their borders ; they forced those very nations, who had been their most formidable assailants, to acknowledge subjection to them ; they extended their empire into Illyricum, into Thrace, into Thessaly ; and at length saw themselves, what their most temerarious hopes could never have promised, masters of Greece, and arbiters of the world. The change is striking. Time was, when Macedonia was not reckoned a part of Greece, and when a Grecian would have thought it a reproach to have been ranked with the natives of that country. Even a Macedonian prince, Alexander, son to that Amyntas who was king of Macedon in the days of Hystaspis, was challenged as a barbarian, when he offered himself in the lists at the Olympic games. Indeed he proved his right, and obtained admission ; for the Macedonian kings were descended from no less a person than Hercules himself. They were of the line of Temenus, to whom the kingdom of Argos was allotted after the return of the Heraclidæ. The first of this family that reigned in Macedon was Caranus, who with a number of his countrymen emigrated from Argolis in disgust at the oppressive government of his brother Phidon. From Peloponnesus he made his way northward, encouraged by an oracle, say the annalists, which had promised him a secure and flourishing establishment, on condition that he followed



followed the direction of *the goats*. It happened on **BOOK**  
 a certain day, when he was now on the borders of **II.**  
*Æmathia* (for so was Macedon, or at least a part **SECT. I.**  
 of it, called originally) as he and the companions of  
 his fortune were journeying on, uncertain in what  
 manner the oracle was to be fulfilled, on a sudden  
 the sky was overcast, and a heavy storm of hail  
 and rain coming on, they observed a herd of goats  
 fleeing before the tempest. It immediately occur-  
 red to Caranus, that these were his *fated guides* :  
 following them closely therefore, he soon found  
 himself at the gates of Edessa, the residence of the  
*Æmathian* kings. The darkness of the weather,  
 and violence of the storm favoured him ; so that  
 entering in unperceived, he got possession of the  
 city first, and afterwards of the whole kingdom.  
 This adventure occasioned the changing of the  
 name of Edessa into that of *Ægæ*, or the city of the  
 goats, which for many ages after continued to be  
 the capital of the kingdom, 'till the first Philip  
 established his residence at Pella, the place of his  
 birth, which stands near the *Thermaic gulph*.  
 Even then *Ægæ* retained much of its former con-  
 sequence : here were the tombs of the kings of  
 Macedon, and here extraordinary solemnities  
 were usually celebrated. On an occasion of this  
 kind, it was, that Philip the son of Amyntas, just  
 now mentioned, was slain in this city, at the so-  
 lemnizing of his daughter Cleopatra's nuptials  
 with Alexander king of Epirus.—The kingdom of  
 Caranus and his immediate successors, it may well  
 be supposed, was of very small extent, though the  
 obscure accounts we have of the earlier state of  
 Macedon will not permit us to form precise notions  
 concerning it. Indeed in those days, the Macedo-  
 nians were scarcely considerable enough to hold a  
 place in history. However, as we have said, their  
 virtues rendered them at length a prosperous,  
 mighty

B o o k mighty people ; and low and indigent as their first

II. condition was, yet, at the time of Philip's death,  
Sect. 1. all that tract of country to the west of Macedon,  
as far as the Adriatic—to the north, to mount Hæ-  
mus and the Scardian hills—north-eastward, to the  
river Nestus—and eastward, to the Ægean sea,  
was already subjected to the Macedonian power.  
But of the Macedonian fortunes, hereafter. At  
present, we shall only take a short survey of the more  
remarkable places of this country.

THE Thermaic gulph washes part of the eastern  
coast of Macedonia : it had its name from Ther-  
mæ, a city at the extremity of the gulph, which  
was afterwards rebuilt by Cassander and Thessa-  
lonice, Philip's daughter, in honour of whom it  
was called Thessalonica. This, according to Stra-  
bo, was one of the most flourishing cities of all  
Macedonia, its situation giving it such advantages,  
that to this day it ceases not to make a considera-  
ble figure under the modern appellation of Salo-  
nichi. The department in which it stood was  
named Amphaxitis.—Southward of this lay the re-  
gion of Chalcidice, so named most probably from  
a colony of Eubœans from Chalcis, who settled  
here. In this division was Athos, a mountain  
known to the geographer for its amazing size and  
height, and to the historian for the vaunting at-  
tempt of Xerxes to cut through the isthmus which  
connects it with the continent, and to open a ca-  
nal large enough to receive his fleets. With a  
profusion of expence and labour was this work car-  
ried on, a work designed to be the wonder of all  
succeeding ages, not a trace of which however is  
now extant, the earth having long since filled up  
the artificial channel.—Southward is the peninsula  
of Pallene, called likewise Phlegra, from a Greek  
verb importing *to burn*, because here, say the po-  
ets, the giants were destroyed by Jupiter's thun-  
der.

der. The coast being broken by many creeks and B o o k small gulphs, offered to seamen a number of safe II. retreats ; whence the several settlements, which Sect. I. the trading nations made in these parts. Potidæa was first founded by a colony from Corinth, but passed into the hands of the Athenians. Mende and Scione are names that often occur in the Athenian annals. Beyond these, near the gulph of Torone, is the city of the Olynthians, a people whose frequent revolutions of fortune, and brave defence of their liberties, are memorable. Near the entrance of the Thermaic gulph are some few islands not deserving attention. Stagira, to the northward, had the honour of giving birth to Aristotle. Further north, on the river Strymon, is the renowned Athenian colony Amphipolis. Antiently it was called *Ἐννέαι ὁδοί*, or the Nine ways : but from the time the Athenians were seated here, it received the name of Amphipolis, because the waters of the Strymon circled round it. Eion, which has its place at one of the mouths of this river, was the mart-town and dock of the Amphipolitans. The whole tract between the Strymon and the Nestus originally belonged to a Thracian tribe called the Edoni. The rich gold mines, with which it abounded, drew to this district the inhabitants of the neighbouring island Thasus, whom the Athenians expelled, and after drawing much wealth from hence, were in their turn dispossessed by Philip the son of Amyntas. This prince reduced the whole country between the two rivers, and made the Nestus the boundary of his kingdom. To curb the Thracian borderers, he built and called after his own name the city Philippi, a place of considerable strength, the same in whose neighbourhood Brutus and Cassius perished in the too late enterprise of retarding the slavery of Rome. In the days of the gospel, several parts of this kingdom



**BOOK** dom of Macedon, from Philippi as far as Beroëa, a

**II.** city of Æmathia, were rendered illustrious by the  
**Sect. 1.** labours of the great Apostle of the Gentiles ; and  
at Philippi and Thessalonica were flourishing  
churches established by his preaching. It appears  
how high was the regard that excellent minister of  
christianity bore to them, by the three Epistles  
which he wrote, one to those of Philippi, and two  
to those of Thessalonica.

**BUT** it is time to relieve the reader from the  
inspection of the Map ; to which however he will  
do well to recur occasionally, in order to have a  
distinct notion of many of those transactions we are  
going to lay before him.

## B O O K IV.

## SECTION I.

**H**AVING taken a review of the several nations of Greece, having seen their situation, what were the natural advantages they enjoyed, and how inconsiderable were their beginnings, we are in the next place to behold them rising to an height of glory scarcely to be conceived within the reach of such a people. However, we are to keep our eye on the states of Athens and Sparta. Their history, especially in the times we treat of, is the history of Greece in general: and whether in the achievements of war, or the arts of peace, it was usually either the one or the other of these that led the way to glory.

AFTER the death of Codrus, Athens, we have said, was no longer under kings. The supreme power was nevertheless preserved to the posterity of this

**B o o k** this prince, and his son Medon reigned with the  
**V.** title of Archon. This gave rise to a great migra-  
**Sect. 1.** tion from Greece into Asia; for Nileus and Androclès, the other sons of Codrus, unwilling to submit to their brother Medon, resolved to seek a foreign settlement. Attica was at this time extremely full of people, many of the exiles from Peloponnesus having made this their place of refuge. Nileus, taking advantage of the conjuncture, got together a great number of adventurers, with whom he passed over to the Asiatic coast, part of which from them received the name of Ionia. This establishment soon became considerable. On the continent they built ten cities, and two in the islands of Chios and Samos: and to strengthen themselves the more effectually, they formed a confederacy, appointing that deputies from all these cities should convene at certain times to deliberate about the common good; whence the temple, where this convention was held, was called Pan-Ionium. They also subdued several islands both in the *Ægean* and *Icarian* seas, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Delos*, &c. Nevertheless, from what *Herodotus* tells us it appears, they did not long preserve their liberties entire. The soft Asiatic climate subdued them; and they yielded themselves up first to *Croesus*, and after him, to the other princes of Asia. There were also particular tyrants in most of these Grecian cities. And hence it was, that the Athenians renounced the name of Ionian, by which they were distinguished in the days of *Theseus*; for we are informed by *Herodotus*, that in his time the Athenians esteemed it a reproach to be so called.—To the north of Ionia, many years after the Ionic migration, according to some, according to others, somewhat earlier, the Asiatic coast was possessed by another colony denominated the *Æolic*, probably from their dialect, the language



guage proper to Achaia, from which they were Book  
lent. These erected eleven cities on the continent IV.  
of Asia, and established themselves also in Lesbos, Sect. I.  
one of the largest and most fertile islands of the  
Ægean sea.—A third migration from Greece to the  
same coast took place some years after the Ionic.  
We have mentioned, that when the Heraclidæ and  
Dorians invaded the territories of Attica, their  
first attempt was on Megara; and that, after their  
retreat on the death of Codrus, a party of Dorians  
maintained themselves in the Megarean district.  
But so straitened\* were they in territory, and so  
harrassed by those of Attica, that at length a num-  
ber of them determined to seek an happier settle-  
ment, and passed over to the Asiatic coast. There  
they got possession of the island of Rhodes, and of  
two cities on the continent, Cnidus and Halicar-  
nassus, the last illustrious for the Mausoleum, or  
noble monument raised by Artemisia to the memo-  
ry of Mausolus her husband, but much more for  
having been the birth-place of Herodotus and  
Dionysius the historians, and of the two poets He-  
raclitus and Callimachus.

WHILE these settlements were forming in Asia,  
the government of Athens underwent frequent al-  
teration. In less than one hundred and fifty years  
after the introduction of perpetual Archons, the  
Athenians reduced the continuance of that office to  
the space of ten years only. And scarcely had  
these decennial Archons been in power seventy  
years, when again the people sought a change,  
esteeming their rights in danger, if they had not  
every year an opportunity of choosing new magis-  
trates. Alcmaeon was the last that enjoyed the  
Archonship for life. He was followed by seven  
decennial Archons, the first of whom was Cha-  
rops, and the last Eryxias. These gave place to  
the annual Archons, of whom Creon was the first.

**B o o k** It could not be expected, that during these domestic contests for liberty, Athens should have any  
**IV.** considerable share in the affairs of other states.  
**Sect. I.**

Power is not easily parted with : and therefore may we well suppose, that every step which the people gained cost them dear. So that, in this time of struggle, the whole energy of the Athenian strength must have been confined within Athens itself : it had too much employment there, to extend its influence to foreign concerns. But if during this period Athens does not appear great, she was however acquiring the means of greatness. It was this liberty, of which they were now rising to the enjoyment, that rendered their country afterwards so dear to them, and animated them to hazard cheerfully even life itself in the defence of a constitution blessed with such noble privileges.

BUT we must now see, what was the condition of Sparta and the other Peloponnesian states. How the descendants of Hercules parcelled out the kingdoms of Peloponnesus, has been related already : Temenus was king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia ; and after the death of Aristodemus, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, were put in possession jointly of the Spartan throne. It should seem hardly credible, that three kingdoms, founded in the same country, at one time, by one people, should have fortunes entirely different. Yet so it was : the glory of Sparta, though the least advantaged by nature, far outshone that of Messenia and Argos ; and the time came, when not only all the nations of Peloponnesus owned the Spartan power, but even over all Greece, and into Asia itself, did Sparta extend her dominion. How this state rose to so high a pitch of glory, is a subject well deserving investigation.

We have remarked in another place, that the government established at Sparta was extremely hazardous.

hazardous. Two princes equal in authority might easily prefer their own private ambition to the public good, and distract the state instead of governing it. This evil was felt in the very beginning. Eurysthenes and Procles, notwithstanding the near relation of brothers that subsisted between them, betrayed in many instances a jealousy of each other, and broke out into frequent contests. Eurysthenes was succeeded by Agis, and Procles by Sôus, their sons, who seem to have been more happily united. The truth was, the common danger left them no time for domestic disputes, as they were both called upon to provide for their own security. The Helotæ had taken up arms against Sparta. Agis treated the inhabitants of the Lacedemonian state with too much severity: he departed from the wise policy of the first kings, who had sought to confirm themselves in their new kingdom by gentleness and mild government, and had therefore granted to the inhabitants of Læonia the same privileges the Spartans enjoyed. He pretended, that these indulgences had rendered them seditious and ungovernable; and not content with abridging them of their right, he also imposed contributions on all the Lacedemonian cities. The people of Helos could not see their liberties wrested from them, and submit tamely. They rose in arms. But the fortune of the Spartan kings prevailed against them: Helos was taken; and the inhuman conquerors condemned the unhappy Helotæ, and all their posterity, to eternal bondage. It is scarce to be conceived, how dreadful was the servitude which the pride and cruelty of the Spartans made them bear. They treated them with the utmost contumely: they even murdered them without the least provocation, and sported themselves in their perfidy to these wretched men. We may judge of their demeanor towards them from



B O O K this single instance. In a distressful war, the Spartans had been obliged to arm their slaves, and had IV. promised them their liberty if they fought bravely. Sect. 1. The too faithful Helotæ acquitted themselves with great valour, and by their means the Spartans obtained the victory. Accordingly they were declared free—the honour of Sparta was engaged for this—but another method was found to render this liberty of small avail. They were way-laid : and those brave men, who had exposed their lives to save Sparta, were, to the number of two thousand, basely destroyed.

Söus claims the character of a brave prince, if that title is justly merited by him that lays waste his neighbours' territories ; for it appears, that he made Arcadia feel the ravages of war, and added a good part of it to his own dominions. Plutarch, who records this, tells us also of his manner of observing a treaty, that deserves remembering. He had attacked the Clitorians, a people of Arcadia, and they had hemmed him up in a place where he and his whole army must have perished through draught. The king, in this difficulty, offered to make peace on any conditions ; and the honest Clitorians required only, that he should restore to them the territories of which he had deprived them by force of arms. He consented, with this stipulation, that he and all his men should drink of a spring not far distant from his camp. After the customary oaths, Söus being set at liberty called his men together, and offered his kingdom to him that would forbear drinking. Their thirst was so excessive, that none would accept the offer. At last, when his men had all drank, the king himself came to the fount, and sprinkling some of the water on his face, without swallowing any, he marched off, refusing to give up his conquests, because he and all his men had not drank, according

ing to the articles. The Lacedemonian army was B o o k  
 now refreshed; and the Arcadians had nothing IV.  
 left them, but to bewail their easy faith. Sect. 1.

To Agis succeeded his son Echestratus; to Söus, Eurytion, from whom that race retained the name of Eurypontidæ or Eurytionidæ. Historians have accounted for this honourable mark of distinction paid to the memory of Eurytion, by informing us, that he rendered himself dear to his people by ruling them with a gentle hand, and softening the harshness of the Spartan government, which the severity and haughtiness of the preceding kings had made extremely grievous. His humane conduct however was not imitated by the princes that came after. They again endeavoured to strain high the royal prerogative: so that, through their ill-judged policy, Sparta was threatened with imminent ruin. For the people, unable to brook the arbitrary sway of those tyrannical governors, were frequently driven into avowed opposition: and as it often happens in civil commotions, when the Spartan kings found themselves unable to stem the torrent, they were obliged to purchase peace at the expence of their just authority, which thereby fell into weakness and contempt.

THE princes that reigned during these distractions, were Prytanis the son of Eurytion, and Labotas (or Leobctas, as Herodotus calls him) son to Echestratus. To them succeeded Eunomus and Doryssus, whose reigns were remarkable for little more than the confused state of Sparta, the effects of which proved fatal to Eunomus. He was murdered in one of these domestic tumults, stabbed with a cook's knife, says Plutarch, as he was endeavouring to persuade the contending parties to peace. Eunomus left a son called Polydectes, who ascended the throne after him; and also a younger son by a second wife, whose name was Lycurgus. Polydectes did not

BOOK long survive his father: and now the Spartans

IV. turned their eyes on Lycurgus, whose many virtues seemed to promise the greatest blessings to his country.

AND certainly he was a prince of the most unblemished probity, and an uncommon excellence of mind. His first step after the death of his brother Polydeſtes makes proof of this. Polydeſtes had left a wife, who was found to be pregnant. As soon as Lycurgus knew it, he declared that the crown of Sparta belonged to her issue, provided it were male, and refused to administer the government under any other title than that of *Protector*. The widow queen, an ambitious woman, who judged of the disposition of Lycurgus by her own, made him an overture, that she would destroy the child she was pregnant with, and secure the crown to him, if he would engage to marry her. Lycurgus received the proposal with horror; but wisely concealing his sentiments, he ordered the messenger to thank her in his name, and to desire that she would not make use of any violent means, as they might impair her health; but that he would take care to dispose of the child, as soon as born. However when her time of travail was come, he sent some of the principal of his lords to observe all that passed, with orders, that if it were a girl, they should give it into the hands of the women; but if a boy, they should bring it to him, wherever he was. She was delivered of a son, who, according to the directions, was brought immediately to Lycurgus. It so happened, that he was, at that very time, at supper with some of the chief men of Sparta. Taking then the child into his arms, *Behold*, says he, *my lords of Sparta, here is a king born unto us*; and placing the infant in the chair of state, he named him Charilaus, or *the joy of the people*, as indeed his reign had its beginning amidst  
loud



loud acclamations and the greatest transports of joy, all people being wonderfully delighted with this remarkable instance of the noble mind and justice of Lycurgus. B o o k IV. Sect. 1.

THE queen-mother, however, saw this generous action in a very different light. She was fallen from her ambitious hopes, and had besides entirely destroyed her credit with Lycurgus, by laying her soul too much open to him. Her only resource therefore was, to raise suspicions of the views he might entertain. Persons were employed to spread about many complaints, which the queen pretended to have against him for not treating her suitably to her quality, and withal artfully to insinuate, that the king's life was far from being safe with Lycurgus, who would certainly make use of the first favourable opportunity to step into the throne.

To silence the murmurs of this wicked faction, and to prevent the reproachful surmises he might have been exposed to, should Charilaus have chanced to die, Lycurgus determined to leave Sparta, and never to return till the king had a son to secure the succession. Nevertheless, still was his nearest concern for his beloved country, and how to remove the evils it laboured under. For this purpose he resolved to visit the wisest nations, and to observe their laws and politics, that he might be the better enabled to reform the Spartan state, and to render it great and prosperous. His first voyage was to Crete, renowned for the laws of Minos. Here he met with one Thales or Thale-tas, a person of superior accomplishments, and particularly eminent for his poetical genius. Poets in those days were useful men: they employed their talents for the concerns of virtue, and endeavoured to advance the improvement of mankind by delivering sage moral precepts in the harmony of verse.

BOOK verse. Of this order was Thales. Lycurgus ef-

IV. teemed it the best service he could do to his coun-  
Sect. 1. try, to prevail on this excellent person to pass over to Sparta, where the sweetness of his measures might smooth a rugged people, and his wise precepts form their civilized minds to a love of decency and of worthy deeds. The Cretan complied with the request, and the expectations of Lycurgus were not frustrate. Plutarch tells us, that the power of Thales' music, and the pathetic exhortations to unanimity and obedience which he was wont to accord on his lyre, had so great an influence on their minds, that insensibly they were softened, and disposed to a chearful concurrence for the public welfare. In a word, the poet prepared the way for the lawgiver, and made Sparta capable of receiving the ordinances of Lycurgus.

To the influence of this Thales is in part to be ascribed the earnestness, which the Spartans testified for the return of their illustrious countryman: but besides, misfortunes also had contributed to make them wise, and to shew them how much they had lost in Lycurgus. For it is observed by Plutarch, that the abilities of those who were then on the Spartan throne were far from being equal to the high office entrusted to them, and that they managed public affairs with great insufficiency and weakness. These distresses of government, together with the excellent lessons of Thales, made them wish ardently for Lycurgus's return, and solicit it by frequent embassies. But he was immoveable from his purpose, not to revisit Sparta till a son was born to Charilaus. After a considerable stay therefore in Crete, he passed over into Asia, where he collected together Homer's works, that were scattered through the Grecian cities. This was the only valuable acquisition he made on the Asiatic coast, the manners of those Grecians having, as  
we

we have observed, become extremely luxuriose and **B o o k**  
 dissolute. His next progress was into Egypt. **IV.**  
 What improvements he made in that land of sci- **Sect. 1.**  
 ence, historians mention not, one only excepted;  
 he brought away with him their scheme of military  
 establishments, which he afterwards introduced  
 into the Spartan state.

WHEN he had thus spent many years in enrich-  
 ing his mind with a knowledge of the customs and  
 civil œconomy of different nations, out of all these  
 he formed a plan of government for the Lacedæmo-  
 nian people; and the situation of Charilaus' family  
 having put an end to his scruples, he began now to  
 shape his course towards Lacedemon. In his way  
 home, he paid his offerings at the shrine of Apollo  
 at Delphos, and consulted the oracle on the suc-  
 cess of his undertaking; at which time, say the  
 pagans, the prophets saluted him with these re-  
 markable words,

*Favourite of heaven, and rather god than man!*

and assured him, that the commonwealth, which  
 should observe his laws, would become the most  
 famous in the world.

AT his arrival at Sparta, he was nevertheless  
 cautious in communicating the scheme of polity  
 which he had projected: this he first explained to  
 his friends, some of the most considerable men of  
 Sparta, to the number of twenty-eight, and having  
 gained them over to his views, he appointed a day  
 for their appearing in arms in the market-place, to  
 support his design, and to strike awe into the un-  
 ruly and factious. The two kings, Charilaus, and  
 Archelaus grandson to Doryssus, were not ap-  
 prised of the purposes of this meeting, and there-  
 fore at the beginning feared a conspiracy; but  
 being soon after undeceived, they promised to con-  
 cur with Lycurgus. It may seem strange, that  
 Lycurgus



BOOK Lycurgus did not communicate his scheme to the

IV. kings at the first, and to Charilaus especially; but

SECT. I. the wonder will cease if we consider, that the alteration he was to begin with was the abridging of the power of the Spartan kings; which, though really necessary to their own preservation, not less than to the public prosperity, princes accustomed to command without controul would probably have been averse from. Matters were now ripe for execution, and their refusing could have availed little. The reputation of Lycurgus must have been great indeed, to carry him through alterations of so high a nature: but the extent of his credit will be more evident, when we have seen the whole system of his institutions. To comprehend this more fully, it will be useful to enquire, what was the condition of the Spartan people, when Lycurgus proposed his new model of government.

SPARTA may be considered in a threefold light: either with respect to the nature of its domestic polity, and the privileges of the people; or with relation to the neighbouring kingdoms, their strength, and the interests they pursued; or lastly, with regard to the manners of the Spartans themselves. Attention to every one of these will be requisite to enable us to judge rightly of the views of this excellent lawgiver, and of the propriety of his ordinances.

As to *the regal power*, it had been arbitrary and exorbitant until the days of Lycurgus, and had seldom known any bounds but what the forcible opposition of an oppressed people had formed against it. We have remarked already, that this very opposition to the kings contributed rather to encourage licentiousness and rebellion, than to introduce a due proportion of liberty: the regal majesty was disgraced by it, and the people learned to despise an authority over which they had triumphed

umphed. The first attention of Lycurgus therefore B o o k  
 was, to establish a just temperature of government, IV.  
 and to constitute some power that should preserve Sect. 1.  
 an equal balance between the prerogative of the  
 kings and the claims of the people. For this end  
 he appointed a senate, to consist of twenty eight  
 persons of the nobles of Sparta: and historians tell  
 us, that they with whom Lycurgus had concerted  
 measures at the beginning were the first senators.  
 These senators were to sit in council with the kings,  
 and to have an authority equal to theirs in all im-  
 portant matters. It belonged to them to convene  
 the people, to receive their demands, and to pro-  
 pose to them whatever laws were esteemed condu-  
 cive; the people had the right of ratifying or re-  
 jecting; and the senate was empowered to dissolve  
 the assembly. None under the age of sixty years  
 were capable of being chosen into this senatorial  
 body; their places they held for life, without be-  
 ing subject to account; and when a new choice  
 was to be made, the right of election was in the  
 people. In this manner Sparta became a mixed  
 government, and the strength of the whole was  
 consulted by making the several parts agree and  
 conspire together. After some time indeed, a  
 material change took place in the system, as far as  
 the people were concerned, who lost the power of  
 propounding, and retained only that of rejecting  
 or assenting to what the senate proposed to them:  
 but that Lycurgus meant to invest the people with  
 the more valuable privilege of giving rise to decrees,  
 appears evident from the Rhetra, or pretended  
 oracle, which Polydorus and Theopompus, kings  
 of Sparta in the second generation from Charilaus,  
 imposed on the Spartan people. Plutarch has  
 preserved to us an account of this political fraud,  
 and the very form of words which, he tells us,  
 were delivered by the Delphic god: IF THE PEOP-

BOOK PEOPLE SHALL MAKE AN IMPROPER DEMAND, THE

IV. SENATORS AND RULERS OF SPARTA SHALL HAVE

Sect. 1. THE POWER OF REJECTING IT. The rights of the people must have been of considerable extent, since there was occasion to employ this sacred forgery for the restraining of them.

THE next point in consideration was the *policy, which Sparta was to observe towards the several states of Greece, and the dangers she had to fear from them.* Sparta was surrounded by many powerful neighbours, the Messenians, the Arcadians, the Argives, nations whose situation afforded them advantages of which the barren soil of Sparta was deprived: some of them already beheld with jealous eyes this rival city, and would probably spare no pains to oppress it. The loss of independency Lycurgus wisely looked upon, as one of the most dreadful evils that could befall his country; and therefore he planned a scheme, that should give her strength and full security against all hostile invasions—not by fortifying her frontiers, and erecting places of defence—but by means much less fallible, by rendering the people vigorous and brave; by enuring them from their early years to all the hardships of war; by teaching them to dare the most trying dangers, and to esteem it the height of human glory to die in the defence of their country. For this purpose he turned their whole genius to the business of arms, and appointed not one ordinance but what tended to endow them with force of body and intrepidity of soul. The male children, as soon as born, were to be submitted to the inspection of the elders of the tribe, and none to be educated but those of a strong healthy complexion: all others were cast into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. When they were seven years old, they were removed from under the care of the mother, and brought



brought up, as children of the state, by strangers B o o k  
free from all the weakneses of parental tenderness. IV.

The manner of their education had all imaginable Sect. 1.  
roughness and severity of discipline. They were

to be taught to bear the extremities of heat and cold, and to run barefoot over sharp and rugged places. They were to be accustomed to walk unconcerned through the gloom of the obscurest night, and to become superior to all the superstitious fears that are apt to invade infant minds.

Their beds were to be hard and unpleasant, their garments plain, their food coarse and scanty. They were to sleep in public galleries, and to eat together in common halls; and both rich and poor, the child of the meanest and of the noblest birth, fared alike. Each band of boys was under the government of a young man of the age of twenty, who was to observe their actions, and to punish or reward them according to their diligence and readiness to obey: they were to be sent by him on adventurous attempts, to form ambuscades, and to lie in wait for *plunder*. This kind of stealth the laws allowed of: but if discovered, they were corrected, not for dishonesty, but because they had been wanting in art and contrivance. They were obliged also to hard exercise: nay their very recreations were a kind of military labour, as hunting on foot, wrestling, throwing the disc, bending the bow, whirling the sling, darting the javelin; and when covered with sweat, they were encouraged to plunge into the river Eurotas. Then as for pain, they were to bear it with the utmost firmness. At Sparta was an altar, sacred to Diana Orthia: here it was the custom to inflict stripes on the Spartan youths, in order to form them to constancy of enduring. It is amazing to what a degree the sense of honour wrought on those striplings, even in their tenderest years.

Historians

BOOK Historians assure us, that some of them have ex-

IV. pired under this bloody discipline, without so  
Sect. 1. much as uttering a groan. Nay, so powerful was this contempt of pain, that we are told by Plutarch, a lad of Sparta, who had stolen a fox, and concealed it under his garment, chose, rather than be discovered, to smother his anguish while the fox was gnawing into his bowels, and actually fell down dead. A people thus educated must have been fearless of every peril, and invincible in arms.

THE liberal arts, which among other nations are prized as the means of polishing and improving the mind, were to make no part of the education of a Spartan: Lycurgus was apprehensive, they might humanize too much his countrymen, and render them weak and effeminate. The only improvements the young men received were from the conversations of the aged, who entertained them with the recital of the warlike achievements of their ancestors, or taught them martial songs, in honour of some of the Spartan heroes, or in praise of manly courage, to inspire them with a desire of following the same path to glory. Or perhaps sometimes they proposed to them *questions* full of sense and meaning, such as, Who was the best man in Sparta? Whether such an action was to be accounted virtuous? and to these they were to return answers short and pertinent: hence they acquired the art of expressing themselves with uncommon brevity and smartness of speech, insomuch that a *Læonic answer* became proverbial.

As to the rest of their deportment, they were to pay an entire obedience to the commands of their superiors; they were to behave in their presence with great reverence, to rise before them, to observe them in a composed manner, and never to break silence but when spoken to. Among themselves

selves they were permitted to indulge in raillery, **Book**  
and to try each other with poignant jests, which **IV.**  
they were also in their turns obliged to bear ; for **Sect. 1.**  
to be moved to ill temper by such things, was  
thought extremely unworthy of a Lacedæmonian.

WHEN they rose to man's estate, the same strain  
of polity was continued. Tillage, architecture,  
and mechanical crafts were consigned to the He-  
lotæ: the men of Sparta were not to have any  
employment but the business of war, to render  
themselves expert in military science, and to make  
proof of their activity and strength. They were  
to be strangers to all the *softening languishments* of  
love: their courtships were to be plain and artless,  
rather with a view to advance the public weal by a  
numerous healthy offspring, than for the sake of  
gratifying a voluptuous passion. To effect this  
the more surely, their maidens, as well as their  
youngmen, were to be practised in athletic exercise,  
to throw the quoit, and pitch the bar: they were  
taught not to consult dress and luxurious ornament,  
but to be hardy, strong, resolute—so that instead of  
softness of feature and delicacy of frame, *robustness*  
*of body and spirit undaunted* were the accomplish-  
ments of the Spartan women. Lycurgus took also  
especial care to render death familiar to Spartan  
eyes, and to divest it of its usual horrors. Contrary  
to the Grecian manner, he ordered the dead to be  
interred within the city, and forbade all tears and  
lamentations over them. Thus did he, in the  
view of making his Spartans a martial bold people,  
proclaim war against every one of the feelings of  
human nature, and endeavour to banish out of his  
commonwealth every passion, that might unbend  
courage, and melt the soul into a flow of tender-  
ness. Accordingly, the Spartans became remark-  
able for a strength of mind, not to be broken by  
any adverse occurrence. They marched on to  
certain



BOOK certain death, serene and composed. They could

IV. bear to be bereaved of their children, without one  
Sect. 1. sigh. Parents even esteemed it an happiness, when  
their sons fell in battle. Nay mothers themselves  
received this kind of tidings with exultation; and  
history has preserved to us the memorable reply of  
the mother of a Spartan general, who, when news  
was brought that her son was no more, asked only,  
*whether he had died bravely?*

THE *military laws*, which Lycurgus instituted,  
belong to this part of his system, and are well  
worthy of notice. The men of Sparta were not  
to be admitted to go to war before the age  
of thirty. Their cities were to be open and  
unwalled. When they encamped, their centinels  
were to be without arms. And in battle, Spartans  
never were to turn their backs before the enemy,  
whatever the disproportion of numbers: they that  
did, were accounted infamous, and became incapable  
of ever serving their country. What yet speaks  
most of all the wisdom of Lycurgus, they were not  
to make conquests, nor to wage war for any con-  
siderable length of time against the same enemy.  
Plutarch assigns the reason, because by those  
means they might render their enemies too well  
exercised in the arts of war. Other motives not  
less cogent might have determined Lycurgus to lay  
down this maxim of state. It was possible the time  
should come, when Sparta might have no more  
enemies to contend with. A complete victory once  
obtained over every power around them, the  
Spartans would be apt to forget the means that  
raised them to empire; they would most probably  
work their own undoing, by sinking into effemi-  
nacy and the love of pleasure. To obviate this  
mischief, Lycurgus appointed them uninterrupted  
activity and vigilance for their portion. A further  
inducement may have been this. Sparta, by sub-  
duing

duing her neighbours and enlarging her territories, **B o o k**  
 must in the end have weakened and subverted her **IV.**  
 own strength. Whereas, while she abstained from **Sect. 1.**  
 conquests, whilst she laboured only to defend her  
 own borders, or to prevent the other Peloponne-  
 sian states from oppressing each other, her forces  
 were kept whole and undivided, she became the  
 arbiter of all the nations near her, and must have  
 obtained a much surer and far more glorious em-  
 pire, than any that extent of dominion could have  
 conferred on her.

THE last great concern, which demanded the  
 attention of Lycurgus, was *the manners of the*  
*Spartan people.* This excellent lawgiver was fully  
 sensible, how little the wisdom of his institutions  
 would avail, if not supported by the virtue and in-  
 tegrity of the Spartans themselves. And from the  
 ruinous low condition of some of the nations  
 among whom he had been, as well as from the dis-  
 tractions under which his own country had lately  
 laboured, he well knew, what were the sources of  
 those evils which generally lay kingdoms waste.  
 These are avarice and luxury : avarice, the parent  
 of rapine, cruelty, and injustice ; and luxury, that  
 leads the way to effeminacy and weaknets. If the  
 first took place, the Spartan state must be torn by  
 civil dissensions : the rich would become tyranni-  
 cal and oppressive ; the poor, discontented and se-  
 ditious. And if luxury insinuated itself, it was  
 impossible the discipline he had established should  
 be long observed. Men softened by pleasures,  
 could not but esteem such severe ordinances grie-  
 vous and intolerable. Yet these were vices, that  
 had frequently triumphed over the wisest and most  
 cautious nations. Lycurgus therefore struck out  
 a new scheme, a scheme wonderful and hardly  
 credible, if antient history did not fully warrant  
 the belief of it.

BOOK HE first persuaded the landed men to consent to

IV. a new division of lands: those of Laconia he divided into thirty thousand equal shares, and the demesnes of Sparta into nine thousand. Each of these was such, as to produce yearly seventy bushels of grain for the master of a family, and the support of his children and domestics, and twelve for his wife, which portion became her dowry,—together with a suitable quantity of grapes and olives. To each child, as soon as he was examined and approved of by the elders of the tribe, one of these shares was to be assigned.

BUT notwithstanding this well concerted establishment, the seeds of luxury and pride were still lurking in Sparta. There were gold and silver, rich furniture, and costly ornaments, which were the property of private persons. Lycurgus then determined to alter entirely the very nature and value of this kind of goods. He forbade the use of gold and silver, in place of which he introduced *iron* money, a heavy, cumbersome coin: so that to lay up or remove a large quantity of this species of wealth, was a matter of very great trouble. At the same time, he banished all curious costly arts, that have their end only in administering to luxury. Their garments were to be coarse, fashioned not for delicacy and shew, but for warmth and strength. The cielings of their houses were to be wrought by no tool but the ax, and their gates and doors smoothed only by the saw. And lastly, to cut off all occasion to luxurious and pampered living, he ordered public tables, at which all were obliged to eat; and if any of the highest quality absented themselves, or even seemed to eat with a nice and nauseating stomach, they were fined by the magistrate, or at least treated with all the severity of ridicule. The fare which was served at these common meals was remarkably  
simple,



simple, and as they tell us, extremely unfavory, except to a Spartan, whose appetite was sharpened by exercise and scanty diet. To secure the economy also of the public tables, as well as to render the attendance on them respectable, he directed that the Polemarchs (those who had distinguished themselves by their bravery in war) should inspect over the several messes.

THUS riotousness, vanity, and effeminate pleasures disappeared entirely. Every thing in Sparta was made to breathe the spirit of frugality and temperance. Their very sacrifices were to be without pomp or expence; they were to be simple, but frequent: 'For,' said Lycurgus, 'he that offers cheap sacrifices, will have it in his power to approach the oftener to the gods; and it is not the *price* of our offerings that renders us acceptable to the immortals, but the piety and purity of his heart who offers them.' The statues likewise, which adorned their temples, were all in a military dress. Even *the goddess of love*, whose softness of figure in the other temples of Greece spake but too plainly the lustful passion she was supposed to inspire, appeared at Sparta cloathed in armour, and with a countenance severe and firm. No inscriptions were permitted on their monumental stones, except in honour of such as had fallen in battle, or of those women who had been engaged in the service of the gods. Lastly, he enjoined it to them to confine themselves to their own native shores, not to visit foreign countries, nor study maritime affairs: for he feared that the example of other nations might corrupt the Spartan virtue, or that, if they became powerful at sea, they should be tempted to make distant conquests: which not only, as we have remarked, must have divided their strength, but might also have given an opportunity to citizens, sent abroad

B o o k to govern, of becoming tyrannical and licentious.

IV. These were excellent ordinances in the scheme of Sect. 1. Lycurgus : for it is easy to see, he did not mean to make the Lacedemonians a wealthy people, with wide dominion, and great extent of power ; he meant only to render them virtuous and free, and by rendering them virtuous and free, he thought he made them happy.

No means, divine or human, were omitted by the sagacious legislator, to prevail on the wealthy citizens, especially, to submit to these regulations. Many persons, no doubt, there were of exalted worth in Sparta, who seconded Lycurgus in the reformation of their country. We have already seen, that he admitted twenty-eight into his council from the very beginning : and these, historians tell us, were the principal of the Spartan nobles, men of weight and influence. Besides, he called religion to his aid, pretending that Apollo of Delphi had given him these laws, with an injunction to impose them on the Spartan people.

BUT with all this, he met with a severe opposition, especially in his attempt to destroy the value and use of riches. The opulent and powerful could not endure a project, that deprived them of all lustre and pre-eminence but what arose from superior virtue. In one of the public assemblies therefore, they raised such a commotion against him, that Lycurgus was obliged to consult his safety by flight. There happened an accident on this occasion, than which nothing could place in a stronger light the exalted worth and generosity of soul of this great Spartan. As he was hastening away from the tumult, a young man named Alexander, more eager in pursuit, came up with him, and while he turned his head to look on his pursuer, wounded him dangerously in the eye. Lycurgus, with his usual calmness, turned about, and shewed his countrymen his reverend face covered

vered with a gore of blood. Ashamed and con-  
 founded at their own ingratitude, they offered him  
 any reparation, and delivered the actor of the vio-  
 lent deed into his power, to be punished as he  
 judged proper. Lycurgus ordered the young man  
 to attend him home, and to observe his pleasure.  
 There, without using the least harshness towards  
 him, he so wrought on him by his excellent ex-  
 ample—by the extraordinary sobriety, the love of  
 labour, and the wondrous command over himself  
 which he shewed in all things—that from, a disso-  
 lute ill-conditioned youth, he became a sincere and  
 zealous admirer of Lycurgus, and one of the most  
 virtuous citizens of Sparta.

GREATLY however as we must admire the pri-  
 vate character of Lycurgus, there is much reason  
 to question, whether his scheme of polity be enti-  
 tled to our full approbation. It is plain, that it  
 was good in many instances; since, by observing it,  
 Sparta flourished for a long succession of ages. But  
 surely some of his institutions may be censured  
 without injustice. In the first place, the Spartans,  
 it seems, were to become altogether a *military* na-  
 tion. For what purpose? Was not liberty to be  
 purchased, but at the expence of the liberal sci-  
 ences, and of all the gentler ornaments of the  
 mind? Is it not possible, that a people should be  
 brave, virtuous, happy—and be also a literate, po-  
 lite, accomplished people?—Lycurgus took espe-  
 cial care, that the Spartans should be trained up in  
 all the discipline of war, that they should be of ro-  
 bust body, and of soul intrepid. But did he not  
 at the same time make them rough, fierce, and  
 cruel? This very people became, as might have been  
 foreseen, the worst and haughtiest of masters, the  
 most insulting and merciless conquerors.—Indeed  
 a kind of inhumanity runs through the whole of  
 Lycurgus' institutions. The ordering to death



BOOK those infants, which happened to come into the  
 IV. world with a weak and delicate frame, is not even  
 Sect. 1. to be thought of without horror. It is past conceiving, how a legislator could enjoin, or a people submit to a law of so extraordinary a nature.—That other custom also, of besprinkling annually the altar of Diana with the blood of their children, and suffering some of them to expire under the severity of the strokes, what an idea does it afford of the Spartan manners? Compare this *altar of blood* with the *altar of mercy* which the generous Athenians erected, and say to which we should give the preference.—Then how strange was it for mothers to exult in the death of their sons, because they had fallen in battle! Whence came it to be a crime at Sparta, to have natural affection? May we not love our country, and yet drop a tear over the ashes of the brave and good who die in her defence? Other legislators have thought this noble concern adorned a man, and made the heart better. Homer himself, who understood so well the propriety of nature, represents his bravest hero weeping at the remembrance of his beloved Patroclus. — Neither is a greater depth of penetration discernible in a political system, which confined a nation to the trade of war singly, making no provision, when they should have rendered themselves superior to their enemies, against their sinking into sloth and inactivity. The use of arms, and the roughness and hardships of a military life, were to be the only business of the Spartan people; and if they ever should become completely victorious, from that day Sparta might date her ruin. The barrier which Lycurgus opposed to this obvious danger, by forbidding conquests, or long wars with the same enemy, was too feeble. Victory is licentious: and a nation, which has once triumphed over the hazards of a dangerous war, and sees conquests open

open before it, will not easily restrain ambition, B o o k  
 will not prefer the sparing to the utter reduction of IV.  
 its enemies—It becomes us also to remark, that Sect. 1.  
 Lycurgus seems very little to have consulted the  
 virtue and decency of the Spartan women. Their  
 maidens were allowed to wear loose garments, to  
 enter into the athletic lists, and to wrestle with  
 men. Husbands were permitted to lend their wives  
 to the first that liked them. So that the Spartans  
 were as indelicate in their sentiments, as they were  
 uncouth and rugged in their manners; and their  
 women were famed for nothing less than their mo-  
 desty and reservedness.

THE best excuse, that can be offered for these  
 blemishes in the Spartan code, is the anxiety of its  
 author to secure the main purpose he had in view,  
 that of preserving freedom and independency to  
 his countrymen; which object he supposed could  
 no otherwise be attained, but by making them a  
 brave martial nation. No virtue was to be culti-  
 vated among them, but what had a tendency to  
 military discipline; to render the people rough  
 and adventurous, careless of all glory but the glo-  
 ry of arms, insensible of every pleasure and every  
 passion that might soften and enervate, able to en-  
 dure the inclemencies of the seasons and the extre-  
 mities of want; to teach them an entire obedience  
 to their commanders, and to bear minds resolute  
 and unshaken amid the most trying dangers. And  
 thus far his scheme was attended with the greatest  
 success. For surely never was there a people more  
 frugal and abstemious at home, or more to be  
 feared in war: never was there a people more firm  
 under difficulties, or that met the wound of death  
 with more constancy and cheerfulness. As to  
 their obedience to the orders of their country,  
 they practised it to the highest degree. Generals  
 at the head of victorious armies laid down their  
 command

BOOK command immediately, if but the meanest Spartan

IV. brought them the *Scytale of revocation* from the supreme magistrates of Sparta. This *Scytalè* was nothing more than a narrow scroll of parchment, on which the orders were written. Together with his commission the general received from the magistrates a short staff, the exact duplicate of which in length and thickness the magistrates kept to themselves, and rolled on it a slip of parchment, when they had occasion to write any orders : the parchment was rolled off, and sent to the general, who, by applying it to his own staff, was immediately informed what the pleasure of the government was. And with this simple instrument did Sparta command more forcibly, than could the mightiest sovereign with his band of armed ministers.

It is surprising however, since the grand object of Lycurgus was to render Sparta a military nation, that he should have fallen upon the inconsistency of limiting the number of his people to thirty-nine thousand men, that being the number of shares of land assigned to male children, when pronounced healthy and vigorous. If at any time there were more persons than there were lots, the usage was, to send the superfluous number abroad in colonies. The strength of any country is the multitude of its inhabitants ; of a military one more particularly, whose forces must be often thinned by the chance of war. But this contrivance that the denizens should not exceed a certain proportion was the more dangerous, because at the same time the territory of Laconia was covered with a multitude of slaves, who must have been far more numerous than their masters, since it was to them that the culture of all the lands, and the exercise of every useful art, were entrusted. The ill effects of not preserving the balance of numbers



numbers between these two orders of men discovered themselves presently, especially as the new system of Lycurgus made no change in the fortune of the unhappy slaves (who were all denominated *Helots*) except that of bestowing on them a larger portion of wretchedness. Nothing but danger was to be looked for at the hands of men irritated by ill usage, if permitted to encrease continually in number. Lycurgus therefore is said to have introduced a method, as well to prevent that encrease, as to accustom the Spartan youth to the trade of war at the expence of the unfortunate Helots. A number of young Spartans were sent forth armed with daggers, and charged to lie in wait for the slaves, as they were dispersed abroad in the fields, or returning homeward at night, and to destroy the ablest and most warlike of them. Of these bloody executions we find too many instances in the Spartan history. It must be confessed, Plutarch endeavours to clear Lycurgus of the guilt of such barbarity, and pretends it was a political contrivance posterior to his days. However, other writers insist, that he himself was the author of it. It was called *αἰματίνη*, or *the ambushcade*, from the manner in which these poor *unsuspecting* slaves were murdered. In after times, to give a kind of colour to this act of inhumanity, it was customary for the Ephori, at their entrance into office, solemnly to denounce war against them. But whoever was the adviser of this execrable expedient, it is certain, the institutions of Lycurgus subjected those miserable men to many dreadful indignities. They were to be forced to drink to excess, and then were to be led, by way of shew, to the public halls, that the Spartan children might see what a beastly vice was drunkenness. They were neither to speak, nor look, nor walk, as freemen. They were not even permitted to learn any songs in praise

BOOK praise of liberty and martial courage, lest they  
 IV. should inspire them with nobler sentiments, and  
 Sect. 1. elevate them to a desire of freedom.

THE institution of the Ephori, those magistrates of whom we have just made mention above, is generally supposed to have taken place in the reign of Theopompus, who lived three generations after Lycurgus. They were designed to temper the exorbitant power of the senate, and had even an authority over the kings themselves. They were to be five in number, to be chosen out of the people, and to be elected annually. Their privileges were very extensive. They could enquire into the conduct of all magistrates whatsoever; they could declare war, and make peace; they could raise forces, and appoint the funds for their maintenance. But withal no act of theirs was valid, except the five concurred unanimously. This new appointment does not seem to have owed its rise to any experienced defect in the institutions of Lycurgus. It is rather probable, that king Theopompus found himself, by his own mismanagement, obliged to call in the aid of these new officers, to silence the murmurs of the people divested by him of their privileges, and to restore the balance of power which he had imprudently destroyed. For this Theopompus was he, who invented the famous Rhetra quoted above, by which the people were forbidden to propound any thing to the senate, and left in possession only of the right of admitting or rejecting. From that time, no measures could be debated on, but what the *council of twenty-eight* thought proper to bring forward. The storm of popular resentment, excited by so great a change in their polity, gathering fast upon Theopompus, he sought a shelter to himself under the plausible measure of instituting the Ephori. And it is certain, these magistrates for some time were of excellent

cellent use. They acted as guardians of the laws, and greatly advanced the public peace and prosperity : but at length they degenerated. The excessive power, with which they were invested, tempted them to the abuse of it : they trampled under foot the ordinances of Lycurgus, and were the first in Sparta that gave the example of luxury and dissolute manners.

OBJECTIONS have been made against the original frame of the Spartan senate, which do not appear to be equally well founded with those that lie against the admission of the Ephori. It has been urged, that the senatorial age was too advanced, sixty years carrying us beyond the season when our abilities are in their full vigour ; and that the power of this body was dangerous on a double account, because it was a power not accountable either to kings or people, and because it was enjoyed for life. But it should be considered, that if the people had been possessed of the privilege of electing frequently new senators, the balance of power must have leaned too much to their side, and the authority and dignity of the regal majesty must have sunk to nothing.—For the age required to qualify a senator it may be pleaded, that the constitutions of that frugal people lasted much longer than do those of luxurious and effeminate nations ; and a Spartan of sixty had many years of health and vigour yet before him. Then, this is a period of life, at which the feverish passions have subsided, and men are cool and experienced. So that it was not to be apprehended, that such men as these, men of noble birth, who had come late to the enjoyment of power, and had been for sixty years learning obedience and subjection to the laws, should readily join in any of the destructive schemes, either of a fiery ambitious king, or of a turbulent seditious multitude. To this we may add, that the honours

BOOK  
IV.  
Sect. I.



BOOK honours of the Spartan senators were limited to  
 IV. their persons : their sons did not inherit ; they had  
 Sect. 1. no way of rising to the like degree of eminence,  
 but by approving themselves faithful and virtuous  
 citizens.

A FORM of government, in which the powers of kings, nobles, and people were so happily attuned and blended, might have been left to itself, and to the experience of its salutary effects, without calling in the support of artifice for securing its duration. It is recorded however, that Lycurgus employed a very extraordinary finess to perpetuate his laws. As soon as these were established at Sparta, he pretended there was one thing remaining, which he could not impart to them before he had consulted the oracle of Apollo ; and he exacted an oath from his countrymen, that they would observe his laws till he returned. He then set out for Delphi, but firmly determined never to see Sparta more. When he had enquired of the oracle concerning the plan of polity he had introduced, and received for answer *that Sparta should be happy as long as she observed it*, he put an end to his life by a voluntary abstinence, and ordered his body to be burned, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea, that the Spartans never might be released from the oath they had taken. If this story be true (for some historians are silent about it, though too remarkable to be omitted, had it been generally supposed fact) we cannot refuse the tribute of admiration to the zeal of the patriot, while as christians we deplore the blindness of the pagan, who could persuade himself he was supreme lord of his own life, and might dispose of it when and how he pleased.

## B O O K IV.

## SECTION II.

**F**ORTIFIED by that extraordinary form of discipline we have now described, the Spartans did not long retain in remembrance the directions of Lycurgus, ‘ that they should rest content-  
 ed within their own territories, and endeavour only to defend them.’ Pretences were not wanting to their ambition ; and they soon became the spoilers and ravagers of every neighbouring state, the *pest of war* to all around them. This is the light, in which reason beholds the glory of all those conquerors who wield the sword, not of justice, but of violence and oppression : and in this light may the Spartans deservedly be considered. It is true, at home they were a virtuous people, hardy, temperate, of minds well governed, and inaccessible to those passions which are generally the bane of human

B o o k  
 IV.  
 Sect. 2.

BOOK human greatness. Nevertheless what was all this,

IV. but a course of discipline for war, that they might  
Sect. 2. be prepared to invade and desolate? Their very virtues were the ruin of their unhappy neighbours. It must be confessed, the time came when they acted an illustrious part, when they fought in a glorious cause, for *the common liberties of Greece*. But far different were many of the achievements of which Sparta had to boast, as the reader will be enabled to judge from the detail of wars we are going to enter upon.

Soon after the death of Lycurgus, the Spartans made trial of their force of arms, by attacking the Achaeans and those of Argos. But their most memorable expedition was against the Arcadians. They were a people, to whom the Spartans seem to have borne an inveterate enmity. Perhaps the rich pasturages and rural wealth, which the Arcadians possessed, tempted these frequent invasions. Whatever was the motive, they marched against Tegea, a city near to the borders of Laconia. Charilaus was at the head of the Lacedemonian army: and so assured were they of victory, that they brought with them chains to bind their future captives. But the Tegeans were determined to sell dear their liberties: they fought therefore with that vigour which despair inspires; and even their women appeared in battle, and charged the Lacedemonians. This brave resistance was attended with the success it deserved. Charilaus was totally routed: he and a great part of his army were made prisoners, and bound with the very chains they had prepared for the Tegeans. Notwithstanding, shortly after, the too generous victors released them, on their taking a solemn oath, that the Lacedemonians should never invade Arcadia more: an oath which, historians tell us,  
was



was religiously observed, until Sparta found it B o o k  
IV.  
her interest to break it. Sect. 2.

ARCHELAUS died about this time, and left the throne to Teleclus : Charilaus likewise was succeeded by his son Nicander. The fate of Teleclus is memorable. He was killed in the temple of Diana on the Messenian borders, as he was endeavouring to defend the honour of certain Spartan virgins to whom the Messenians would have offered violence. So pretend the Spartans. But the Messenians say, it was the treachery of Teleclus that occasioned his death ; because they who appeared to be virgins were no other than young warriors in female habits, whom Teleclus had brought with him to this temple in order to seize some of the principal of the Messenian nobles. However the fact may have been, it drew important consequences, being the avowed reason for the Messenian war, when the real incentive most probably was, the desire of the Lacedemonians to invade Messenia, and to extend their dominion over one of the fairest countries of Peloponnesus. The care of this war fell to Alcamenes, son of Teleclus.

As soon as Alcamenes had raised a sufficient force, Bef. Christ  
742. he entered Messenia, and took Amphea, a place of some strength, without the least opposition ; for so expeditious was his march, that he found the gates of the city open, as in times of peace. He nevertheless wreaked his utmost vengeance on the inhabitants, putting them all to the sword without distinction of age or sex, even in the midst of the temples of their gods. Euphaes, who was then on the Messenian throne, undismayed by this disaster, managed the war with great bravery and conduct. He harraressed continually the Lacedemonian army, and refused to venture an engagement, till his soldiers had acquired sufficient skill to engage on equal terms.

BOOK terms. At length in the fourth year he offered

IV. them battle, and obtained such advantage over  
Sect. 2. them, that they were obliged to retreat into Laco-

Bef. Christ  
738. nia. Alcamenes did not long survive this ill success: he was succeeded by Polydorus, his son. Nicander dying also, the crown descended to his son Theopompus.

THESE two princes engaged warmly in the war, and laid waste all Messenia. The devastation of their country brought on this wretched people a dreadful encrease of evils, the horrors of famine and pestilence. Borne down by the weight of misfortune, the Messenians resolved to abandon all their cities, and to retire to the top of the high mountain Ithome, where they determined to preserve their liberties, or die in the defence of them.

At the same time, a person was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, who brought back for answer, 'that the war would end in the extermination of 'the Messenian people, unless a virgin of the blood 'of the Epytidæ,' so was the royal family of Messenia called, 'were offered up a victim to the 'gods.' The distracted Messenians complied with the bloody injunction; and Aristomenes, a prince of the royal race, sacrificed his daughter with his own hand. Inspired with new confidence, the people now promised themselves victory over their enemies; and a numerous army of Lacedemonians appearing before Ithome, a battle ensued, in which both parties fought with inveterate rage and obstinacy. When it was doubtful which party should prevail, Euphaes, exposing himself too far in the battle, received a wound, and fell: his faithful Messenians rushed to the place with redoubled fury, and having bravely recovered the body of their dying king, brought him back to Ithome, where he expired in some few days. This happened about the thirteenth year of the war.

Bef. Christ  
729.

IN

IN the stead of Euphaes, Aristomenes was seated B o o k  
on the throne, notwithstanding the claims of many IV.  
competitors; and he soon shewed, how well he Sect. 2.  
deserved the preference. He not only confirmed  
his countrymen in the prosecution of a war, on  
the success of which it depended whether they  
should continue to be free, or become slaves to  
the Lacedemonian power; but also in every thing  
he approved himself the father of his people. He  
studied to gain their affections by all the arts of  
affability and gentleness; and even those who had  
been his competitors for the crown he adorned  
with distinguished honours. Besides, he courted  
the alliance of the other Peloponnesian states, la-  
bouring much to unite them together against the  
ambitious and cruel designs of Sparta: and ac-  
cordingly, the Arcadians, the Sicyonians, and the  
Argives espoused the cause of the Messenians, and  
marched to their relief. This was a seasonable  
reinforcement to Aristomenes; for the Lacedemo-  
nians, assisted by the Corinthians, were preparing  
to attack him. Aristomenes was now in a condi-  
tion to receive them; and the two armies engag-  
ing together, the Lacedemonians were totally de-  
feated. Some say, that Theopompus himself was  
taken prisoner, and that he, with three hundred  
Spartans, were by the exasperated Messenians sa-  
crificed in the temple of Jupiter of Ithome. But,  
with all this gleam of success, Aristomenes beheld  
his country a ruinous waste, and his brave Messe-  
nians reduced to a handful of people; and under  
these circumstances, he saw it was impossible but  
Ithome must in the end fall into the power of the  
enemy. He was also terrified by ill-boding omens  
and menacing oracles, the contrivances of the  
priests, who apparently had sold themselves to  
the Spartan interest. All these things sunk the  
spirit of the unfortunate prince: he fell into a  
deep



**B o o k** deep melancholy, and slew himself at the tomb of  
 IV. his daughter. Ithome was soon after taken by the  
 Sect. 2. Lacedemonians, and levelled with the ground;  
 and the wretched remains of the Messenian people  
 were condemned to a hard and rigorous bondage.  
 At first indeed, the Lacedemonians behaved to-  
 wards them with some appearance of lenity,  
 prompted by policy, no doubt: but the natural  
 temper of Sparta soon prevailed, and Messenia  
 was made to feel all the barbarity of those merci-  
 less conquerors. The first Messenian war had lasted  
 twenty years, and perhaps to the tedious length  
 of it may in part be ascribed the institution of the  
 Ephori by Theopompus: he found it necessary to  
 compose the minds of the people of Sparta, and to  
 purchase peace at home, at any price.

Bef. Christ  
 723.

Nor content with a single enemy, the Spartans  
 had in the height of this war, and about the time  
 when the Messenians retired to Ithome, engaged  
 themselves in a dispute with the Argives concern-  
 ing the territory of Thyrea, a city situate between  
 Laconia and Argolis. The extraordinary feat of  
 valour, performed on this occasion by Othryades  
 the Spartan, renders this dispute worthy of notice.  
 It had been agreed, that three hundred men should  
 be chosen on each side, by whose swords the claim  
 should be decided. They met accordingly, and  
 fought so furiously, that all the Lacedemonians  
 lay as dead on the field of battle, and of the Ar-  
 gives two only remained alive, who ran to Argos  
 to bring the tidings of their victory. It happened,  
 that one of the Spartans, named Othryades, was  
 not quite dead. After the departure of the Argive  
 champions, this man raised himself on piles of  
 broken lances, and having drawn together as  
 many shields as lay within his reach, he erected a  
 trophy of them, and with his own blood wrote on  
 the uppermost these words: *To Jupiter the con-*  
*queror*

*queror, guardian of trophies, Othryades the Spartan* B o o k  
*erects this:* then, unwilling to survive his compa- IV.  
 nions, he slew himself. The doubtful issue of this Sect. 2.  
 combat occasioned a fresh dispute between the two  
 states, and a new war, in which victory declared  
 itself on the side of the Lacedemonians.

Soon after the conclusion of the Messenian war, Polydorus was treacherously assassinated in Sparta. It does not appear, what provocation could incite the murderer to this; for historians make very honourable mention of his many virtues, of his moderation especially, and his strict regard to justice. And in such high esteem was his memory held by his countrymen, that they ordered his effigies to be engraven on the public seal which the magistrates of Sparta were to make use of. Not improbably the fierceness of the Spartan spirit, when it was not allowed to spend itself in wars abroad, was apt to break out into domestic violences of this nature.

NEXT to Polydorus reigned his son Eurycrates; and to Theopompus succeeded his grandson Zeuxidamus. In the reign of these two kings a conspiracy was formed, which had well nigh proved fatal to the state of Sparta. There are very uncertain accounts concerning the rise of it; though it is plain how dangerous it was reputed, from the extreme and uncommon lenity shewn to those who were engaged in it. No punishment was inflicted on them; but by a public decree permission was given to them to sail over to Italy, in order to be settled there. Accordingly they got possession of Tarentum, where they became a prosperous and celebrated people. By Justin this attempt is called the conspiracy of the Partheniæ, whose relation of it carries very much the air of a fable. According to him and some others, when the Lacedemonians under Theopompus marched against the Messeni-

BOOK IV. Boeotians; they took a solemn oath, that they would ne-

IV. ver return home till they had subjugated Messeniā  
Sect. 2. entirely. The brave resistance they met with

delayed them longer than they had expected: and repeated complaints came from Sparta, that, whilst they were earnest against their enemies, they were careless of the increase of the Spartan people.

Upon this it was decreed, that as many of the young men as were under age at the beginning of the expedition, and so had not taken the oath, should have leave to return to Sparta, and be allowed the promiscuous use of all the unmarried women. The sons who were born from this commerce were called *Partheniæ*, or *the sons of the maidens*. But when the Lacedæmonians returned from the war, and the young men found themselves neglected, having neither parents nor inheritance to claim, they began to form intrigues, and conspired with the Helots to fall on the citizens in the next general assembly. This was a formidable conspiracy, and might have proved too difficult for the magistrates: and therefore was this expedient made use of, both to save the commonwealth, and to raise those unfortunate persons to a more happy condition. Phalanthus, the first adviser of the measure, was appointed leader of the colony. So much of this story is very likely to be fact, that the young men here spoken of were a superflux of citizens, who found themselves without inheritance, because the thirty-nine thousand lots were already disposed of, and thence were tempted to overturn the constitution of a country, in which, though their native land, they experienced the treatment of foreigners.

As to any other transactions of these two kings, history is silent. Eurycrates was succeeded in the Spartan throne by Anaxander his son, Zeuxidamus by his son Anaxidamus. Their reign was rendered



rendered memorable by a second Messenian war. **BOOK**  
 The oppressed Messenians could no longer bear the **IV.**  
 galling yoke of Sparta, and the various indignities **Sect. 2:**  
 which the pride of their insulting masters imposed  
 on them. Aristomenes, a prince of the royal house  
 of Messenia, was the principal encourager to this  
 revolt. The page of history presents few charac-  
 ters so nearly answerable to the imagined perfecti-  
 on of an hero. Aristomenes was enterprising, in-  
 trepid, disinterested, of sound judgment, of ho-  
 nour unblemished, and of heart truly faithful to  
 the cause of liberty and of his country. His first  
 endeavour was to strengthen himself by alliances.  
 For this purpose he made his application to those  
 of Arcadia and Argos, judging that they could not  
 but behold with jealous eyes the power of Sparta,  
 and would gladly seize every opportunity of humb-  
 ling the haughtiness of this ambitious neighbour.  
 His conjectures were not groundless. They ap-  
 proved his project, and promised him assistance:  
 This second war with Messenia broke out in about  
 forty years after the first, as Pausanias relates: Sir **Ref. Christ**  
 Isaac Newton is of opinion, there was only an in- **684.**  
 terval of twenty five years between the one and the  
 other.

THE first place where the Spartans and Messeni-  
 ans met in battle was near a certain village called  
 Deræ. Aristomenes on this occasion performed  
 the most amazing exploits, and as historians tell  
 us, behaved with a courage more than human.  
 The Lacedemonians nevertheless disputed the day  
 with great firmness. But the Messenians, led by  
 the example of their general, bore down all oppo-  
 sition, and obtained a complete victory: His  
 grateful countrymen now pressed him to accept of  
 sovereign power. A vulgar soul might have been  
 elated by the offer; but Aristomenes declined it,  
 with this answer, ' that he had taken up arms to  
 ' restore

BOOK ' restore them to liberty, not to raise himself to  
 IV. ' greatness.' After this victory, that no means  
 Sect. 2. might be omitted of striking terror into the enemy,  
 he stole into the city of Sparta, and in the temple  
 of Minerva hung up a shield inscribed with these  
 words : *Aristomenes dedicates this to Minerva out of  
 the spoils of the Spartans*—an omen of very terrible  
 nature in those days of superstition. Affrighted by  
 these sinister accidents, the Spartans sent a solemn  
 deputation to Delphi to enquire about the event of  
 the war, and received for answer, ' that Sparta  
 must seek a leader from Athens.' The Athenians  
 granted the request, but in such a manner, as plain-  
 ly argued how lightly they deemed of the interests  
 of Sparta. They gave them the poet Tyrtaeus for  
 their general ; a person of mean appearance, lame  
 of a foot, and, especially as to military science, held  
 in the lowest esteem at Athens. Notwithstanding  
 these unpromising circumstances, the Spartans,  
 obedient to the oracle, received him, and made  
 ready for war.

Bef. Christ  
 682

ARISTOMENES also prepared himself, and drew  
 together a powerful force, the Eleans, the Argives,  
 the Sicyonians, and Arcadians being numbered  
 among his allies. The two armies, fired as they  
 were with high resentments, soon found the op-  
 portunity of trying the issue of a battle. It was  
 bloody and obstinate : however in the end the  
 Messenians prevailed, and the Lacedemonians were  
 routed with great slaughter. This defeat occasioned  
 a deep consternation at Sparta : the war seemed  
 now to have a dark and threatening aspect, and a  
 general dispiritedness possessed the people. It was  
 in this conjuncture, that the extraordinary abilities  
 of Tyrtaeus began to display themselves. He re-  
 stored their drooping courage ; he recruited their  
 armies with the choicest of their slaves, and encour-  
 aged them to bear boldly up against the shocks of  
 adverse

adverse fortune : he also composed martial songs, B o o k  
 which affected the soldiery in a wonderful manner, IV.  
 and roused them to resolution and vigour. In the Sect. 2.  
 mean time, Aristomenes neglected not to improve  
 his late victory : he marched his forces into La-  
 conia, and having taken Pheræ, a town of consi-  
 derable note, he plundered it, putting all that re-  
 sisted him to the sword, and carrying off a very  
 rich booty. Such a daring insult Sparta could  
 not brook. A party was immediately sent out  
 against him, whom he soon defeated, and would  
 probably have entirely cut off, had he not been  
 disabled by a wound, which obliged him to with-  
 draw from the field.

THE third year of the war, the Lacedemonians, Ref. Christ  
681.  
 animated by Tyrtæus' inspiring verse, raised a  
 powerful army, and once more entered Messenia.  
 Aristomenes likewise, being joined by Aristocrates  
 king of Arcadia, resolutely marched forth to meet  
 them. It is said, that before the engagement, the  
 Lacedemonians (so determined were they to con-  
 quer or to die) fastened, each on his right arm,  
 billets inscribed with their own names and the  
 names of their families ; that if they chanced to  
 fall in battle, and their features were disfigured,  
 they might be known by those marks, and restored  
 to the sepulchres of their fathers. With all this,  
 Aristomenes would probably have proved too hard  
 for Sparta ; but in the height of the engagement,  
 the false Arcadian, who had been bribed by the  
 Lacedemonians to betray his confederates, basely  
 drew off his men, and, to add to the confusion of  
 the Messenians, forced his way through the midst  
 of them. Aristomenes nevertheless, forming the  
 residue of his troops into close order, gallantly  
 continued the fight against the enemy that poured  
 in on him from every side, and secured a retreat,  
 though at the expence of the lives of many the  
 bravest



**BOOK** bravest of his soldiers. Weakened by this grievous  
**IV.** loss, he resolved to abandon all the open country,  
**SECT. 2.** which with his shattered forces it was impossible he  
 should defend, and retired to a mountain of difficult access, called Eira. The Spartans now thought the war at an end; and therefore having blocked up the avenues of the mountain, they made a division of the other lands of Messenia, and began to cultivate them. But Aristomenes, with three hundred chosen men, breaking out from Eira, drove the Spartans before him, and ravaged the whole country. At other times, he penetrated into Laconia, bearing away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary for the support of the besieged. This obliged the Spartans to leave uncultivated not only the Messenian territories, but also those parts of Laconia that were nearest to the Messenian borders. Aristomenes however, at the head of his chosen band, continued his depredations, and committed frequent ravages in the very neighbourhood of Sparta. Among the places he plundered was Amyclæ, distant only about eighteen miles from the metropolis. As soon as the Spartan kings had an account of this expedition, they hastened in pursuit of him; and as the Messenians were encumbered with booty, they came up with them before they had reached Eira. Aristomenes, whom no chance of things could intimidate, disposed his little party in order of battle, and notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers, maintained a long and vigorous conflict against the whole Lacedemonian army. At last spent with his wounds, he sunk down senseless, and was made prisoner, together with about fifty more, all that remained alive of those brave Messenians.

THIS illustrious captive was led in triumph to Sparta, where the Lacedemonians expressed the loudest joy at the sight of a man, who had for so many

many years been the terror of their country. As soon as he was recovered of his wounds, it was decreed, that he and all his fellow-prisoners should be thrown into a certain deep hideous cavern, there to perish for want of food; the usual punishment of the most flagitious offenders. The sentence was rigorously executed, with this singular favour to Aristomenes, that he was permitted to put on his armour. Three days did Aristomenes continue in this place of horrors, amidst the groans of his expiring countrymen, and the stench of corrupted carcases. The third day, when he was almost famished, he heard a noise, and by the glimmering light perceived a fox gnawing a body near him. With one hand he seized its hind leg, and defending his face with the other, he followed the struggling creature, till he found it thrusting its head into a hole: this was the crevice, through which the fox had got in. Aristomenes then loosing his hold, pursued the track, and by dint of labour wrought himself a passage into the open air. Feeble as he was, he hastened towards Eira, and almost miraculously reached the place, to the inexpressible joy and amazement of his faithful Messenians.

WHEN his escape was first told at Sparta, it was esteemed a fiction. Aristomenes soon gave them sensible proofs of the truth of it. Falling on their forces that lay before Eira, he slew most of the officers, with a multitude of private men, and pillaged their camp. The loss on this occasion was so considerable, that the enemy desired a cessation of arms for forty days, under pretence of some religious caremony, but in truth that they might have time to bury their dead. Notwithstanding the truce, certain Cretans, who were in the service of Sparta, perfidiously seized Aristomenes, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him  
away

B o o k away prisoner. These Cretans were seven in num-

IV. ber. Two of them ran with the tidings to Sparta :  
Sect. 2. the rest conducted their prize to a lonely cottage,  
inhabited only by a widow-woman and her daughter.  
The old woman knew Aristomenes, and communicated the discovery to the maiden, who being encouraged to the enterprise by an extraordinary dream \* she lately had, prevailed on her mother to attempt his deliverance. In this view, they plied his guards with strong drink ; and when the men were heavy in sleep, they unbound Aristomenes, and armed him with a poniard. He immediately avenged himself on the treacherous Cretans, and brought away his deliverers to Eira, where he rewarded them largely, and gave the young woman in marriage to his son Gorgias.

Bel. Christ  
671.

IT was now the eleventh year, since the Spartans had laid siege to Eira : this length of time had the virtue of Aristomenes baffled all their purposes. But it was his misfortune to be always defeated by fraud and treachery. It happened, that a Messenian woman had commerce with a Spartan. By the means of this intrigue the Spartans were apprised, that Aristomenes was detained at home by some wound ; and that the soldiers, secure of him, had retired from their stations on account of the inclemency of the weather. As soon as the Spartan commander had received this intelligence, he prepared for the attack, and assisted by the darkness of a tempestuous night, without any opposition scaled the walls, and made himself master of all the Messenian posts. When day appeared, Aristomenes beheld his dangerous situation. And now began one of the fiercest engagements history makes mention of. It lasted three days and two

\* Of a lion without claws, bound, and dragged along by wolves, whom she loosed, refreshed, and furnished again with claws ; upon which, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces.

nights,



nights, the women themselves assaulting the enemy with incessant fury. At last, oppressed with numbers, and finding it impossible to preserve the citadel, Aristomenes the third evening drew off his wearied troops. On the next morning, having disposed his slender force with great art, the women and children being placed in the center, he moved on at the head of them directly towards the enemy, resolved to force his way, or to perish in the attempt. The wondering Spartans, doubtful of the trial, opened to the right and left, and suffered him to march off through the midst of them. In this manner did the excellent Messenian bid farewell to his native land, leaving nothing to the Spartans but a poor wasted, depopulated country.

SUCH exalted virtue seldom fails of support : heaven took care of Aristomenes. His first retreat was to the Arcadians, the antient allies of Messenia. They crowded about him earnestly, and heard his story with the utmost astonishment. Long before, it had been the report in Arcadia, that Eira was taken, and all the Messenians exterminated. The faithless Aristocrates had contrived these false tidings, to prevent the marching of the Arcadian troops, and had persuaded his subjects that any attempt in behalf of the Messenians would now serve only to draw down upon themselves the vengeance of Sparta. It seems, he had also covered his former treasons with plausible pretences, alledging, that menacing omens had obliged him to retire from the field of battle. Aristomenes, without preferring any accusation against the perfidious king, made it his sole endeavour to excite the Arcadians against the ravagers of his country. He proposed, with five hundred men only, to march to Sparta, and lay it in ruins. The Spartans, he said, were now employed in the pillaging of Eira, and fearless of enemies ; he could not fail of surprising them at this juncture, and taking vengeance on that inhu-

man

BOOK man people for the wrongs done to wretched Messe-

IV. nia. A proposal of so bold a nature, made by a

SECT. 2. person well able to execute it, and that argued such firmness of courage in the midst of his broken fortunes, could not fail of moving admiration. The whole assembly answered him with loud applauses. Aristocrates however by various artifices delayed the execution, and in the mean time sent to Sparta notice of the intended invasion. The friends of Aristomenes, suspecting the king, intercepted the messenger, and before the great council of the nation produced the letters of the Lacedemonians to him, in which all his treasons were laid open. Never was there seen more violent indignation, than appeared on this occasion. The whole assembly rose up furious against their guilty sovereign, and began to stone him, calling frequently on the Messenians to assist their just revenge. But the generous Aristomenes, far from contributing to his punishment, beheld the tragic scene with the deepest concern, and a face covered with tears: whether it was the fate, or the baseness of this unworthy king, that affected him most.

SOME time after this, a prince of Rhodes, enquiring of the Delphic oracle, whom he should take to wife that his posterity might be a blessing to his people, received for answer, that he should marry the daughter of *the most worthy of all the Greeks*. There was no doubt, who this person was—it could be no other than the great Aristomenes. Accordingly the prince espoused his daughter, and Aristomenes retired with them to Rhodes, where he formed a well concerted scheme against the power of Sparta: but amidst his bold spirited projects, he was surprised by death. The Rhodians raised a sumptuous monument to him, and his memory was held in the highest veneration. The gallant Messenians, who marched out of Eira under the banners of Aristomenes, passed over to the island

island of Sicily, where they got possession of a city B o o k  
 called Zancle, a name by them changed into Mes- IV.  
 sene, in remembrance of their lost country. Pos. Sect. 2.  
 terity has continued the memory of the fact, by  
 calling the city, with a slight variation, Messina.

THE second Messenian war had extended to the length of fourteen years ; three before the fortifying of Eira, and Eira was besieged eleven years. Of the Messenians who remained in Peloponnesus, many had fallen into the hands of the Spartans during the course of the war ; and there might be some dispersed about Messenia, at the time that Eira was taken. All these shared the same fate with the unfortunate Helotæ, being reduced to the hard condition of servitude. It is affirmed also, that the Spartans laid on them a double portion of wretchedness, and made use of every severity to afflict and break the spirit of a people, who had so long presumed to resist them. The reader will forgive us, if we so far depart from the laws of history as to anticipate events, by informing him, Ref. Christ  
368. that Messenia was raised again to liberty, and once more enabled to humble the insolence of Sparta. But that is a transaction far distant, some hundred years posterior to the times of which we are now speaking.

ANAXANDER and Anaxidamus were on the Spartan throne, at the conclusion of the Messenian war. After their demise, the kingdom descended to their two sons, Eurycratides and Archidamus, in whose reign there happened not any thing memorable. They were succeeded by Leo and Agasicles, or Hegesicles. These two kings attacked Tegea, and laid waste its territories : but the Tegeans, having worsted them in several engagements, imposed on them a condition which they well deserved ; they condemned them to restore all the improvements, and to cultivate with their  
own



**B**OOK known hands the very lands, which they had ravaged. In their time lived Solon, the Athenian IV. lawgiver, of whom we shall have occasion to speak Sect. 2. presently.

NEXT to these two kings reigned Anaxandrides and Aristo, who invaded the Tegeans with better success, and in the end brought that brave people into subjection. Herodotus pretends, this was owing to the removal of the bones of Orestes, which lay at Tegea, and which the Spartans were by an oracle warned to remove to Sparta. It might be a better reason, that the Tegeans were overharrassed and weakened by the continual incursions of an unjust neighbour, whose chosen delight was war and desolation, and who knew not what it was to enjoy the gentler days of peace.

THE manner in which this Spartan prince Aristo is said to have obtained his queen is too extraordinary to be passed over in silence. She was a woman of singular beauty, and had been the wife of Agetus, a noble Spartan whom the king honoured with distinguished marks of favour. One day, in a merry mood, Aristo made agreement with Agetus to give him whatsoever he should ask, on condition that Agetus should shew him the like compliance; and they both swore to observe the promise. Agetus desired some trifling boon, and was gratified; and then the king claimed his wife. This was a request Agetus expected not: however, he was too much a Spartan to refuse a demand of the kind; and so was his wife raised to the throne of Sparta. The king, it must be observed, had two wives before this, and they were both childless: nevertheless, seven months after his marriage with the wife of Agetus, she was delivered of a son. When Aristo had the news brought to him, it happened to be, as he was on the tribunal with the Ephori. He publicly expressed his surprise,

prise, and seemed to doubt whether he should acknowledge him : but afterwards he owned him for his son, and designed him heir to his kingdom. The young prince received the name of Demaratus, *the prayer of the people*. B o o k IV. Sect. 2.

THE family history of the other Spartan king Anaxandrides is not less remarkable. He was married to a person whom he dearly loved, but she was barren. The Ephori on this account pressed him to divorce her ; failing in which endeavour, they insisted that he should at least marry another wife, and he was forced to comply. By this second marriage he had a son named Cleomenes : and soon after he was born, his first wife proved with child, and brought forth a son who was called Dorieus. Strong suspicions were at first entertained concerning his birth : but these were effectually confuted in the sequel, when she was delivered of two other sons, Leonidas and Cleombrotus. Howbeit, Cleomenes succeeded his father ; at which preference Dorieus in disgust left Sparta, and retired to Sicily. About the time that Cleomenes obtained the crown, Aristo died, and Demaratus reigned after him.

EQUALLY singular with the births of these two kings were their succeeding fortunes, being clouded over with strange disasters, though the beginning of their reign seemed to promise much glory and happiness. When they ascended the throne of Sparta, Athens was in an afflicted state, subjected to the yoke of Hippias the son of Pisistratus. His father had usurped the supreme authority ; and the son, who enjoyed the same power after him, made the Athenians feel all the calamities which the sway of a jealous cruel tyrant generally brings on. The spirit of Athens languished under this oppression ; and either banishment or the sword of violence had already deprived her of many of her  
most

**B O O K** most valuable citizens. Among those who had  
**IV.** fled from Athens, some of the most considerable  
**Sect. 2.** had made choice of Delphi for their place of refuge, where they prevailed on the Pythian priestesses to solicit those of Sparta, as in the name of the God, in behalf of their distressed country. Moved by the oracular warnings, which were constantly and earnestly repeated, the Spartans determined to set Athens free. But Hippias having strengthened himself with a body of Thessalian horse, fell upon their army, and routed them with great slaughter. Sparta was not discouraged. A second and more numerous army was raised, at the head of which Cleomenes penetrated into Attica, and laid siege to Athens. The tyrant nevertheless would probably have defeated all their measures, if a domestic misfortune had not contributed to subdue him: his children fell into the hands of the Spartans, who refused to restore them, except he would depart out of Attica in the space of five days. Paternal affection prevailed: Hippias chose rather to lose his crown than expose the lives of his children. He retired therefore to Sigeum, a city of Asia the less.

**HONOURABLE** as this enterprise appears at first to have been for Sparta, their subsequent behaviour speaks it to have proceeded more from the superstition of the times, than the force of generous sentiments. After Athens was restored to her liberties, a contention of interests took place between two of her principal citizens, both considerable by their wealth and noble descent. Clisthenes by certain popular acts soon gained the superiority: and, on the other side, Isagoras called in Cleomenes to support him. The Spartan king gladly embraced the opportunity of extending his power over Athens. Marching thither immediately, as if he had put down one tyrant only to set up himself in his



his stead, he causes Clisthenes, with seven hundred B o o k families that adhered to him, to be condemned to IV. banishment; and having possessed himself of the Sect. 2. Acropolis, endeavours to subvert the constitution, and to vest the whole supreme power in three hundred of the factious accomplices of Isagoras. The Athenians resolutely opposed these innovations, and falling on the Spartans, put most of them to the sword, obliged Cleomenes to leave Attica, and recalled Clisthenes with his friends. Violent and implacable of temper, Cleomenes soon returned to the charge, having assembled a great army from all parts of Peloponnesus, with which he invaded the Eleusinian territories, whilst his confederates from Boeotia and Chalcis ravaged the rest of Attica. His arbitrary conduct however so disgusted his own party, that the Corinthians drew off their forces, and even Demaratus, the other Spartan king, refused to co-operate with him.

WHEN Cleomenes found that he could not effect his purpose by force of arms, and that the Athenians were not to be brought to a slavish submission, he repented him sincerely of the share he had taken in freeing them from the yoke of Hippias. He also discovered the artifices which had been made use of to engage Sparta in the cause of Athens. Resentment and disappointed ambition urged him on; and he determined at any rate to humble this spirited city. For this end he studied to infuse jealous fears into his countrymen. ‘Attica,’ he told them, ‘was now beginning to flourish again. Her people were of a bold, aspiring genius. Who could say, how soon they might be in a condition to dispute the empire of Greece, and prescribe laws to Sparta herself? It was *liberty* that had raised her to this state of splendor; and *slavery and bondage* were the surest means to sink and depress her’ It sufficiently appears, how narrow

**BOOK** narrow and selfish was the policy of Sparta, when

IV. such unworthy counsels met with acceptance. Hip-  
Sect. 2. pias was sent for; and in a general assembly of the  
Spartan allies it was proposed to espouse his quar-  
rel, and to restore the very tyrant whom they had  
so lately contributed to expel. This proposal was  
received with amazement; a dead silence prevailed  
for a time through the whole assembly; till at  
length the Corinthians broke out into bitter re-  
proaches, and answered the Spartans with such  
keenness and strength of reason, that the project  
was dropped, and Hippias forced to return to  
Asia.

CLEOMENES undoubtedly was a man of violence  
and blood: yet a story is recorded of him by He-  
rodotus, which does him not a little honour.

Esf. Christ  
501.

Whilst he was on the throne, there came to Sparta  
one of the Asiatic Greeks, Aristagoras, governor  
of Miletus, in the name of the Ionian states, to  
solicit assistance from the Spartans. He pretended  
certain complaints against the ministers of Darius  
then king of Persia, in vindication of which wrongs  
he had found means to draw all Ionia into a revolt.  
The person he made his application to, was Cleo-  
menes: him he endeavoured to engage by many  
vaunting offers, promising him no less than the  
reduction of all Asia. The Spartan listened pati-  
ently to all the magnificent speeches of Aristago-  
ras, together with the description which he gave  
of the splendor and treasures of Darius, and then  
asked, how far it was to the city where this  
mighty monarch resided. 'It is a journey,' Arista-  
goras made answer, 'of three months.' Cleomenes  
interrupting him immediately, commanded him to  
depart from Sparta before the setting of the sun.  
The Ionian nevertheless followed the king in a  
suppliant manner, beseeching him to hear what  
he had to say, and to dismiss his daughter, a child

of about eight years, that he might deliver a **BOOK** matter of the utmost importance. Cleomenes bade **IV.** him say on, without fear of her. Then Aristagoras began to tempt the king with large sums, proceeding gradually in his offers, till he came to *fifty talents*: at which the girl cried out, 'Fly, sir, or this stranger will corrupt you.' Cleomenes smiled, and retired. This daughter of his was Gorgo, afterwards wife to Leonidas, the great Spartan king. At Athens, however, these Ionian ambassadors found a more favourable reception than they had met with at Sparta, the Athenians being ill-disposed towards Persia on account of Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and brother to Darius, who had interested himself in behalf of Hippias, and in the spirit of an eastern despot had sent orders to the Athenians to admit him again, on pain of his displeasure. This insulting message filled the whole city with the highest resentment: and just at this juncture arrived Aristagoras. The exasperated Athenians readily promised to concur with the Ionian states, and actually made good their engagement by sending out twenty ships to their assistance; a measure which gave beginning to the famed Persian war, in which the virtue and magnanimity of the Grecian people shone in the fullest lustre. But we shall enlarge on these things, when we come to the Athenian history.

Let us return to Cleomenes, whose history is little more than a series of extravagant feats, in which ambition and cruelty appear always uppermost. One of the most remarkable of his expeditions was against the Argives, whom he defeated in battle, and enclosed the vanquished army in a grove consecrated to some deity. The difficulty was, how to deal with them in their sanctuary. Some drew forth by a promise of security, on



BOOK payment of a ransom ; and these he instantly put  
 IV. to death : the rest, who refused to trust a perfidi-  
 Sect. 3. ous enemy, he destroyed, by ordering the grove  
 itself to be consumed with every thing contained  
 in it. Some time after this barbarous execution,  
 he passed over to Ægina, and would have seized  
 on the chief persons of the island, under pretence  
 that they had stipulated to betray the cause of  
 Greece to the Persian king. The charge appeared  
 so ill founded, that Demaratus preferred a formal  
 accusation against his colleague before the Ephori,  
 though envy, according to Herodotus, was the  
 real promoter of this measure. Be it as it may,  
 the accusation proved fatal to Demaratus. For  
 Cleomenes, having been heard in his defence, and  
 acquitted, stirred up Leotychides, a prince of the  
 family of the Eurytionidæ, to call in question  
 Demaratus' birth, and to deny his being the son  
 of Aristo. The rash words, which the king had  
 spoken, were now brought in proof against him ;  
 and the matter being left to Perialla the Delphic  
 priestess, who had been suborned by Cleomenes  
 to prostitute the oracle to his views, she declared  
 Demaratus son to Agetus. The unfortunate prince  
 was therefore compelled to cede the crown to Le-  
 otychides ; but loving his country with an un-  
 changed affection, he bore the loss of the regal  
 dignity with uncommon greatness of mind, and  
 for a time submitted to fill at Sparta the office of  
 an inferior magistrate. At length the insults of  
 Leotychides forced him away, to seek a refuge in  
 the court of Darius, by whom he was received  
 with great distinction, and honoured with large  
 possessions. We shall presently see him in the train  
 of Xerxes, the son of his benefactor, when that  
 prince invaded Greece.

Demaratus being thus removed, and a partner  
 established on the throne who was entirely devoted  
 to

to his will, the first care of Cleomenes was to re-  
 venge himself on the Æginetæ, in whose behalf  
 the deposed king had engaged against him. He  
 therefore entered the island with the whole Lace-  
 demonian army, his colleague having joined him,  
 and obliged the Æginetæ to surrender to him ten  
 of the most considerable of the inhabitants. It  
 might be expected, that the Ephori would not  
 avow this act of injustice. To make sure then of  
 his vengeance, he delivered the prisoners into the  
 hands of the Athenians, their inveterate enemies,  
 choosing rather to lay aside his resentments against  
 Athens, than not to indulge his hatred to those of  
 Ægina.

A life of so much perfidy and violence was not  
 permitted to end without punishment, the closing  
 fortunes of Cleomenes being terrible; and well  
 worthy to be attended to. In a short time after  
 his last expedition, it was proved, that he had  
 suborned the priestess of Delphi to procure the  
 dethroning of Demaratus. Alarmed at this dis-  
 covery, Cleomenes fled to Thessaly, and thence  
 removed to Arcadia, where not being able to sub-  
 mit to a life of peace, he soon began to form in-  
 trigues, and having gathered together a band of  
 resolute men, he bound them under a solemn  
 oath, that they should follow him whithersoever  
 he should lead them. These preparations occasi-  
 oned much speculation at Sparta; and it was  
 thought safer to pardon Cleomenes, and to recal  
 him home, where the Ephori might narrowly ob-  
 serve all his measures, than to leave this dange-  
 rous enterprising spirit at liberty to devise schemes  
 against his country. Accordingly Cleomenes was  
 restored to the regal dignity. He was not long  
 returned, when the distraction of his mind en-  
 creased to a violent degree, and he became out-  
 rageously frantic, striking and wounding all that

BOOK him. This obliged the Spartans to confine him, IV. and he was committed to the care of an Helot. Sect. 2. But Cleomenes having by threats forced his guard to furnish him with a sword (for, notwithstanding his low condition, the very voice of *the king* made *the slave* to tremble) he began to lay open his flesh from his ancles upwards, until he came to his belly, which he ripped up, and expired. In this manner did heaven make the hands, which had so often rioted in the blood of others, the instruments of vengeance against himself.

Neither was the partner of this man's guilt, Leotychydes, without his deserved measure of retribution. The Æginetæ demanded justice against him; and so exasperated were the Spartans, that they offered to give him up to their will. But the people of Ægina required only, that he should assist them with his good offices, to obtain from the Athenians the release of their countrymen. Leotychides went to Athens for this purpose, but without success: yet he was continued in possession of the kingdom, and afterwards made some figure in the Persian war. His latter days however were far more wretched than those of Demaratus; for he died in banishment, laden with infamy, and under deserved condemnation for having basely betrayed his country. He had received bribes from the nations of Thessaly, the declared enemies of Sparta, whom he had been sent to chastise; and instead of improving the success at first attendant on his arms, he had by weak and dilatory measures, suffered the Thessalians to strengthen themselves. Public indignation was the consequence of this treachery. Being called to account, and his guilty conscience not permitting him to abide the trial, he fled to Tegea, where he ended his life.

To Cleomenes succeeded the illustrious Leonidas,



das, who raised the Spartan name to its highest pitch of glory. From this period the history of Sparta runs no longer in a divided channel; it breaks into the general history of Greece. We shall now therefore convert our attention to the other great commonwealth of Greece, Athens, the rival of Sparta in military achievements, and love of the public weal,—but formed in a softer mold; the patroness of science and arts, and in which every virtue that adorns humanity flourished as in its native soil.

## B O O K IV.

## SECTION III.

**BOOK** **T**HE earlier days of Athens were days of difficulty and confusion; the people struggling against the power of the nobles, and the nobles refusing to yield up their privileges to the people.

IV.

Sect. 3.

Bef. Christ

604

The introduction of the Annual Archons seemed to promise the commonwealth more stability. The supreme authority was no longer vested in one person; and they who were raised to the magistracy were soon to descend again into the rank of subjects, and to render an exact and rigorous account of their administration. This order of government took place, according to Sir Isaac Newton, in the 43d Olympiad: and Creon, we have observed already, was the first Annual Archon.

The

The office of Archon was shared among nine B O O K  
 persons, to each of whom his particular depart- IV.  
 ment was assigned : but the *title* was given only Sect. 3.  
 to one. He was called Archon by way of emi-  
 nence, for he had the precedency of all the rest :  
 the higher acts of royalty belonged originally to  
 him, and with his name the year was inscribed.  
 The magistrate next to him was the *Basileus*, or  
 King : to him was committed the care of all re-  
 ligious matters, with the inspection of the sacred  
 families ; and on this account was he honoured  
 with the royal title ; for in antient times the Kings  
 were the officers of religion, as well as well as of  
 civil polity, and the more august sacrifices were  
 performed by their ministry. The third Archon  
 was the *Polemarchus*, or General. From the name  
 it is evident, that, at the first, military affairs  
 were under his direction. But Solon confined his  
 power within narrower bounds : and we find that,  
 in the later times of Athens, his principal office  
 was to celebrate certain religious solemnities in  
 honour of the deities of war, and to the memory  
 of deceased patriots ; to take care likewise of a  
 provision for the children of such as had fallen in  
 the defence of their country. The six other Ar-  
 chons were styled *Thesmothetæ*. It is thought by  
 some, that at the beginning they were instituted  
 in behalf of the people, to vindicate their rights,  
 and to temper the power of the three first Ar-  
 chons. Certainly their name seems to imply, that  
 they were the guardians of the constitution. Per-  
 haps they were appointed to prevent any ordinan-  
 ces from taking place, that might abridge the  
 people of their liberties, and to impair the public  
 prosperity.

How ill soever these new regulations might be  
 relished by the nobles, who mourned their lost  
 privileges, and the encreasing consequence of the  
 people,



BOOK people, yet the general weal was evidently advanced by them, and one thing only seemed wanting to the constitution of this state. There were no laws at Athens; unless we should extend that name to the few and incomplete regulations, which had taken place in her infant state, or as the poets style it, in the days of Ceres, when the first introduction of tillage occasioned boundaries and rules of property to be established. In most cases, the conscience of the magistrate was in the place of law: a power easily abused, and always ungrateful to a people fond of liberty. These inconveniences obliged them to elect a lawgiver; and to this important office was Draco appointed, a person of high character for probity and unblemished manners. But though probity and unblemished manners are excellent qualifications surely for the trust of prescribing laws to a people, yet in order to win over the affections of the subject, and to secure his submission to government, justice must not be inflexible. Draco forgot this. All his ordinances were arrayed in terrors; and the least transgression was to be punished with death. His extreme severity frustrated the purposes of the legislator. His institutions fell into disuse; and the Athenians chose rather to leave crimes unpunished, than to renounce the dictates of mercy. After a short trial, the bloody laws of Draco drew down the public detestation on their author, who found himself under a necessity of banishing himself from his native country. It may be, the Athenians suspected him of a design to break the spirit of the people by frequent executions, and to favour the introduction of an arbitrary government, by subjecting the lives of all men to the power of the magistrate; since under so rigorous

an economy it was scarcely possible, but in some B o o k  
instances every Athenian must render himself ob- IV.  
noxious. Sect. 3.

THE domestic troubles, that followed this first experiment of legislation, left the Athenians little leisure for choosing a new lawgiver. Cylon, an Athenian of noble birth, had increased the number of dependants which his quality and wealth procured him; by a marriage with the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. His ambition kindling with so many advantages, he determined to free himself from the mortifying yoke of popular government, and to invade the sovereignty of Athens. He had consulted the Delphic oracle as to the fittest time for executing his purpose, and had received for answer, 'When the Athenians were employed in celebrating the highest feast of Jupiter.' This they concluded to be the feast of the Olympic games: and indeed it was an inviting opportunity, as a great concourse of Athenians generally resorted to this festival. In obedience Bef. Christ  
599. therefore, as they deemed, to the oracle, at the solemnizing of the next Olympiad (which was the 45th) Cylon and his party seized on the Athenian citadel. Immediately Megacles, the Archon of that year, got together a considerable force, and pressed the conspirators with so much vigour, that Cylon and his brother were obliged to consult their safety by flight, and of his associates as many as could took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva. Megacles laboured much to persuade them to come down, and leave their cause to the issue of a legal trial. At length they consented, but with this precaution: they tied a cord to the image of Minerva, and held by one end of it, to shew that they still claimed the protection of the gods. But unfortunately, as they came down, the cord happening to break, Megacles and they with him

BOOK him took advantage of the accident, which they

IV. explained into an intimation, ' that the goddess  
Sect. 3. ' had now rejected them,' and falling instantly on them, put most of them to death, some even at the altars, whither they had fled for refuge. This severe execution proved the cause of violent distractions. Cylon's friends made it their care to interest the superstition of the people against the Archon, and to persuade them, that the majesty of the gods had been violated. The priests also, glad of this fair occasion of exerting their authority, zealously engaged in the vindication of their polluted temple, and execrated Megacles and all those concerned with him. As to the ministers of Delphi, who had promised success to Cylon, they readily found means to save the credit of their oracle, by pretending, that the time had been mistaken, which was not, as Cylon imagined, the Olympic solemnity, but the feast of the Diasia, which it was customary to celebrate annually at Athens in honour of Jupiter the *propitious*. Such was the faith of those deceitful oracles !

THE people of Megara, who were in the interests of Cylon, declared war against the Athenians, and having taken Nisea on the Saronic gulph, passed over to Salamis, and drove the Athenians out of it. These last prosecuted the war with great earnestness : but, after many grievous losses, they were obliged to give up all hopes of recovering the island ; and so dejected were they at their ill success, that a decree was made, by which the very proposing to attempt it was rendered capital. There was nevertheless a person found, hardy enough to adventure his life to serve his country. This was Solon, a name so conspicuous on the rolls of fame for his abilities as a lawgiver. He was a person of noble extraction, and said to be lineally descended from

Codrus :



Codrus: and though his fortune was not equal B o o k  
 to his birth, yet did his many eminent virtues IV.  
 abundantly compensate that defect. The better Sect. 3.  
 to compass his design, he counterfeited madness ;  
 and going into the public assembly in a garb for-  
 did and ridiculous, he began to address the people  
 in verses he had composed for the occasion, up-  
 braiding them with their poorness of spirit, and  
 encouraging them to renew the war. A number  
 of young Athenians crouded about the uncouth  
 orator ; among the rest Pisistratus, a nobleman of  
 great figure, a near relation of Solon's, and who  
 probably was privy to the scheme. They loudly  
 applauded the proposal, and exhorted their fellow  
 citizens to obey his directions. These exhortati-  
 ons, together with the elegance of the verses, and  
 the affecting manner in which they were spoken,  
 determined the people. The decree was repealed :  
 and Solon having contrived a stratagem to surprise  
 the Megarenses, or according to others, having  
 by his prudence brought about an accommoda-  
 tion, Salamis was recovered.

THIS acquired Solon much honour. But his  
 fame was yet more highly advanced by a consi-  
 derable service which he performed to the common  
 cause of Greece. The people of Crissa had levied  
 tribute on those that came to consult the Pythian  
 god, and not content with these impious exacti-  
 ons, had even made incursions into the Delphic  
 borders, and attempted to pillage the temple.  
 Such daring sacrilege raised the indignation of So-  
 lon. He applied to the Amphiçtyonic states, and  
 procured an army to be sent against the Crisseans,  
 of which Eurylochus of Theffaly, Clisthenes prince  
 of Sicyon, and Alcmeon, the son of Megacles,  
 were appointed generals : and he himself also ac-  
 companied them. The Crisseans were not intimi-  
 dated ; they prepared for their defence : and that  
the

**BOOK** the protection of heaven might not be wanting to  
**IV.** them, they even obtained an oracle that seemed  
**Sect. 3.** to portend them the victory. The purport of it was, that Crissa never should be taken, *until the sea should wash the territories of Delphi*: and the territories of Delphi were many miles distant from the sea shore. This declaration gave courage to those of Crissa, and proportionably dispirited the confederate army. At length, when the siege had now continued several years, it occurred to Solon, that the oracle might admit of a more happy interpretation. He advised the Amphictyones solemnly to devote to the Delphi god all the country of the Crisseans: 'and then,' said he, 'shall the territories of Delphi be washed by the sea, and the oracle be fulfilled.' This expedient proved favourable to the Amphictyones. Crissa was taken soon after, and an end put to the war, which is called by some the first Sacred War.

NOTWITHSTANDING these successes abroad, the Athenian affairs were still in confusion. The Cylonian faction maintained a lasting enmity against the party of Megacles; and the priests, who all acted in conjunction with the former, were continually representing, that some heavy guilt impended over the city, and demanded expiation. About the same time, a pestilence broke out at Athens. There were also prodigies and strange appearances seen frequently, owing doubtless to the artifices of the priests, assisted by the distempered fancies of the superstitious people. However Solon evidently perceived, that these distractions never could have an end, unless means could be found to free their minds from the horrors they laboured under, and to persuade them that *the gods were placated*. For this purpose, he prevailed on as many of the assistants of Megacles as were living, to submit to a trial, and when condemned to banishment,

nishment, to depart peaceably out of the Athenian **B o o k**  
 territories. He also caused Epimenides of Crete **IV.**  
 to be sent for, a man in high repute for sanctity, **Sect. 3.**  
 and famed for his skill in expiations, who proved  
 of infinite use to the Athenian people. Not only  
 did this person liberate them from the dread of di-  
 vine vengeance by the solemn expiatory sacrifices  
 which he offered in their behalf, and rendered the  
 city more healthy by cleansing and purifying it,  
 but also he taught the people to entertain happier  
 notions of religion : he instructed them to court  
 the favour of the gods, not by pompous oblations,  
 but by piety and holy manners ; he disposed their  
 minds to unity and peace, and made them more  
 flexible and patient of controul.

THESE sage lessons seem to have prepared the  
 way for establishing the Athenian state on a firmer  
 base. The people now saw what had been the  
 principal cause of their late calamities, and be-  
 gan to be convinced, that the commonwealth  
 could not prosper, till their civil rights were se-  
 curely settled, and all orders of men chearfully  
 conspired to advance the public good. In these  
 dispositions, all men turned their eyes on Solon :  
 both rich and poor had an entire confidence in his  
 probity, and were willing to submit the decision  
 of all their claims to his wisdom. So that by una-  
 nimous consent he was chosen supreme magistrate  
 of Athens, with unlimited power to enact new  
 laws, and model the constitution. A situation  
 trying and hazardous : but this excellent person  
 had both the abilities and the integrity this mo-  
 mentous charge required. Plutarch tells us, that  
 at the beginning many of the chief men at Athens  
 were extremely urgent that he should make him-  
 self king ; but he rejected the proposal with the  
 utmost indignation. Virtue was to him of more  
 value than all the splendor of regal dignity.

Bef. Christ  
 593.

THE



**BOOK** THE first act of power Solon performed, after

**IV.** being invested with the legislative authority, shewed  
**Señ. 3.** the goodness of his heart. It was in favour of the meanest rank of citizens. There was a prodigious inequality of fortune among the Athenians, and the avarice and haughtiness of the rich had reduced the poor to the lowest degree of wretchedness. Not only their lands had been seized by their merciless creditors, but they themselves also were frequently sold as slaves. Many of them had been obliged to purchase their liberty by giving up their own children to bondage, or to seek a refuge in other climes from the persecution of those cruel exactors. These evils had been of long continuance, and had occasioned loud and grievous murmurings. Solon therefore enacted, that the marks of mortgaged lands should be removed, all debts discharged entirely, and every Athenian restored to liberty and the enjoyment of his country. The moneyed men were much displeased at this; and the poor were far from being contented: they expected a new division of lands should have taken place, and that the rich would be obliged to resign some part of their wide possessions. But in a short time Solon convinced both parties of the expediency of this ordinance; and in proof of the general satisfaction, a public festival was celebrated, called the feast of the *Seisachtheia* or *disburthening*, because the people were now set free from the heavy burthen under which they had laboured.

PLUTARCH relates a circumstance in this affair, which may serve to shew, how nicely men in exalted stations should scan those whom they admit to their confidence. Solon had certain intimates, to whom every secret of his heart was open; and to them he communicated his plan of cancelling  
 all

all debts, but of leaving land estates entire. Those **Book** false friends sacrificed Solon's credit to their own **IV.** private interest, by immediately borrowing large **Sect. 3.** sums, with which they purchased lands. The deceit became manifest when the new law was promulged, and occasioned great indignation. But the legislator soon gave abundant proof of his uprightness, by remitting five talents which he was known to have lent; and the whole infamy fell on those worthless men, who were ever after stigmatized with a name of singular reproach.

WHEN he had in this manner exerted himself in favour of the indigent and oppressed, he next turned his thoughts to modelling the commonwealth. The supreme authority had indeed been portioned out among nine persons; but the people were still entirely excluded from all share in the government, as the whole magistracy of Athens remained in those of extensive fortune and noble birth. Solon wisely considered, that a more equal distribution of power might add to the public strength. To this end he formed the citizens into different classes, according to the difference of estates. In the first class he ranked those, who were worth five hundred measures both in wet and dry fruits: and these were the nobles of the highest quality, who were obliged to pay a talent into the public treasury. In the second class those were reckoned, who were worth three hundred measures: these were nearly of the same dignity with the knights in the commonwealth of Rome; they were to pay half a talent to the treasury, or to furnish a horse for military service. The third class consisted of such as were worth only two hundred measures; two of whom were together to furnish a horse: and this was the body of the Athenian gentry. Out of these three orders he appointed all the officers of the state to be chosen.

**BOOK** THE remainder of the people he formed into  
**IV.** one class ; and these were the vassals, or persons  
**Sect. 3.** labouring for hire. They were rendered incapable of bearing any office ; but in return they enjoyed the right of voting in the General Assembly. This at first seemed an inconsiderable privilege, though afterwards it was found to be a power of the greatest extent : for to this assembly all who pleased had a liberty of appealing, in every case ; so that by degrees the people, though not magistrates themselves, became the judges of magistrates, lords of the state, and final arbitrators of all controversies. No appointment made by the senate was valid, till ratified by their decree : all honours depended on their suffrages ; and to their examination was the conduct of even the Archons themselves subjected. It is clear therefore, that the government at Athens was in truth a democracy. Plutarch intimates, that Solon found so strong a bent to liberty in the people, he did not think it safe to resist it ; and therefore he introduced this form of government, as the only one the spirit of the Athenians would submit to. It may be also, that he suspected the tyrannical temper of the men of wealth, whose pride and cruelty had already brought Athens to the brink of destruction.

BUT however Solon did not give up the guidance of the state to the will of the giddy multitude. He appointed two great Councils, that might serve as anchors to the commonwealth, and break the violence of popular tumult. The first of these was the senate of the Areopagites, so called from Areopagus, or Mars' hill, the place where they held their sessions. This court owed its institution to Cranaus, one of the first Athenian kings, and was the supreme court of Athens for many ages : but Draco, in his legislature, transferred the most important



important causes to the court of the Ephetæ ; so B o o k  
that from that time the Areopagites lost much of IV.  
their former splendor. Solon reinstated them, Sect. 3.  
with a considerable encrease of privileges. He  
ordered, that all trials for murder, or attempts to  
murder, should come under their cognisance. He  
assigned them the custody of the laws, and the in-  
spection of the public funds. The care of young  
persons of both sexes belonged to them. They  
were the guardians of manners. All matters of  
religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of  
the holy mysteries, and the introduction of new  
ceremonies into divine worship, were referred to  
their judgment. They were to punish all the pro-  
fligate and impious ; and to enquire by what  
means each man supported himself, whether by  
industry and honest labour : for idleness was se-  
verely punished at Athens, as a crime of the most  
dangerous consequence to the national prosperity,  
and the parent of rapine and all kinds of evil arts.

THE better to answer purposes so important,  
this tribunal was to be composed of the most ve-  
nerable personages, men of tried characters and  
exemplary virtue. Solon ordered, that none but  
the Archons, who had discharged their office  
blameless, should be members of it. If any of  
the senators were convicted of the least immora-  
lity, they were expelled immediately. Even the  
sitting in a public house was sufficient to disqualify  
them. Their words, their gestures, their very  
looks were to be solemn and composed. To laugh  
in this assembly was an act of levity, for which  
there was no forgiveness. And it was expressly  
forbidden, that an Areopagite should write a co-  
medy. Such an extreme delicacy of virtue did  
even pagans require in those that were to be in-  
trusted with the administration of the laws.

**BOOK** THEIR method of proceeding likewise shewed  
 IV. the nicest regard to justice. As soon as the sena-  
 Sect. 3. tors were met together, they divided themselves  
 into committees, each of which had their particular causes appointed to them : and this designation was determined by lot, after they were come into court ; that the judges, not knowing what causes should fall to their share, might be secure against all attempts of bribery or favour. They were to hear causes by night, and in the dark, that they might not be affected by seeing either the plaintiff or defendant. They were to sit in the open air : a custom indeed common to all the courts that took cognisance of murder ; for in those days so execrable was the person of a murderer, that it was esteemed a pollution to be under the same roof with him. They who pleaded before them were to speak to the point directly, in a style simple and concise : they were not allowed to study any of the ornaments of speech, nor to preface their orations with artful and insinuating compliments. When the senators gave sentence, they cast their suffrages into urns, placed in such a manner, that none should know on which side they voted. It is remarkable, that this custom was abolished in the days of the Thirty Tyrants, as too favourable to the cause of liberty.

SUCH was the court of Areopagus, whose inflexible uprightness was the great boast of antiquity. It was accounted the most sacred tribunal of the Pagan world. Even foreign states submitted their disputes to its decision : and Demosthenes tells us, that, to his days, it was never known to have given one iniquitous judgment. It is not to be wondered therefore, that Solon should commit to this court a power of controul over the assemblies of the people : they were to have a vigilant eye on the popular proceedings, and had power to reverse the sentence of an assembly, if the people, often

often rash and prejudiced in their judgments, were found to have acquitted the guilty, or condemned the innocent. So that these excellent men were stationed, as faithful centinels, to watch over the preservation of their country, and to defend the laws from all infractions whatsoever. On these accounts it is, that the diminution of honours, which this court suffered in the days of Pericles, has been looked on as one of the principal causes of the decay of the Athenian glory.

THE other senate, which Solon instituted, had yet a more direct influence over the popular assemblies; and the very design of it was to moderate and restrain the impetuosity of the multitude. This was the Senate of Four Hundred, or rather of Five Hundred, as it was called from the time of Clisthenes, who added one hundred to the number which Solon first ordained. It will be necessary to have a right notion of this great council, as it was the main foundation on which Solon raised his fabric of government. The members of it were to be elected annually, one hundred out of every tribe, according to Solon: but when Clisthenes had encreased the number of tribes from four to ten, and the senate was made to consist of five hundred persons, then each tribe furnished fifty. The method of election was this. The president of each tribe gave in the names of all the persons in his district, who, after a severe examination into their manners and course of life, appeared the most worthy and capable of the senatorial office. These were engraven on small plates of brass, and cast into a vessel contrived for the purpose: into another vessel was put the like number of beans, of which fifty were white, and the rest black; and they, whose names were drawn out with the white beans, were admitted into the senate. After the election of the senators, the



B o o k names of the ten tribes were thrown into a vessel,

IV. and into another ten beans, of which one was  
Sect. 3. white. The tribe, whose fortune it was to be drawn out together with the white bean, presided first; the rest, in the order in which they were drawn out of the vessel. Each tribe presided thirty-five days; so that the ten tribes might nearly complete a lunar year, which, according to the Attic computation, consisted of 354 days: three hundred and fifty days therefore were required, that each tribe might perform its course; the four supernumerary days were employed in the election of magistrates. The presiding fifty were called *Prytanes*: and to prevent confusion, this arrangement was made. The time of their presiding was divided into five weeks: each week ten *Prytanes* presided, distinguished by the name of *Proedri*; and out of these one was every day appointed by lot to be first president: so that of the *Prytanes* of the week three were excluded from this honour. The president of the day was called *Epistates*: to his care were committed the great seal of the commonwealth, the keys of the citadel, and the keys of the exchequer. This was an office of such importance, that by the laws no man was permitted to continue in it above one day, or to be elected into it a second time.

THE senate of five hundred was convened once every day, festivals excepted, and even oftener, if occasion required. Here audience was given to all, who had any thing to propose that concerned the commonwealth. If the thing proposed appeared to be of moment, it was engraven on tablets, and referred to another meeting, that every senator might consider the point maturely, before the time of debate came on. In the deliberations of the council, all the senators had full liberty to speak their opinion, and to support it by reasons;  
and

and when they voted, it was, as in the Areopagus, **B o o k** privately, by beans cast into a vessel, the white **IV.** affirming, the black denying. If the majority was **Sect. 3.** found to approve of the proposal, it was enacted into a decree; if not, it was rejected entirely, not to be resumed during that senate. These decrees of the senate were afterwards to be propounded to the general assembly of the people, that they might receive ratifications; otherwise they were in force only during that year, till the election of a new senate. It was in this view chiefly Solon instituted this court, that the people might not, by the impulse of eloquent and artful speakers, be hurried into hasty resolutions, but that all the measures of government should be the result of deliberate thought and calm counsels.

BESIDES this great end of their institution, these senators had also several important offices assigned to them. They were inspectors of the public prisons; they took care of those reduced citizens, that were maintained by an allowance out of the exchequer; and the accounts of magistrates, at the expiration of their office, were laid before them. In succeeding times, when the maritime power of Athens began to encrease, they were also the commissioners of the navy, and provided for the building of new ships of war. Such was the attention of the Athenians to this important article, that a law was made to deprive those members of the senate, during whose administration no ships had been built, of the honour of wearing a crown at the public spectacles, the usual reward of such as had served their country faithfully. The decree was probably enacted soon after the engagement at Salamis, when naval glory became the darling pursuit of the Athenians.

BUT the court of *dernier resort* was the General Assembly of the people. It was held regularly  
four

BOOK four times during every Prytaneia, that is, in the  
 IV. space of thirty-five days, or more frequently, if  
 Sect. 3. any weighty unexpected occasion required it. Here all the freemen of Athens, supposed to have been about twenty thousand, had a right of voting, with the exception of those, who had been irreverent to their parents, or guilty of contempt to the gods. It was the opinion of the wise Solon, that a man vicious in private life was not a safe person to be trusted with the concerns of his country.

MANY were the precautions employed to preserve order among the multitude. Some time before their meeting, a placart was affixed on the statues of the *Eponymi*, in a place of general concourse, announcing the matters that were to be proposed to them. There were officers, whose duty it was to remind the people of the laws of their country, and to hinder them from decreeing any thing subversive of the public good. One of the tribes was appointed to take care of the speaker's pulpit, and to defend the commonwealth against the artifices of popular and ambitious orators. No man was allowed to make an oration, till they had spoken who were past the age of fifty; and even then, all under thirty years were excluded. Religion also was called in, to render their debates the more awful and serious. The omens were observed. The place where they assembled was purified with the blood of victims: and when the expiation was ended, one of the sacred officers made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the state, and the success of their deliberations, concluding with a tremendous execration against all those who should give their suffrages for lucre, or endeavour any thing in that assembly to the impairing of the public welfare.

IN



IN spite of these provisions however, there is B o o k  
 reason to believe, that much perturbation fre- IV.  
 quently took place in so numerous an assembly ; Sect. 3.  
 at least we are sure, that it did so in the days of  
 Demosthenes. We are told this great orator was  
 wont to exercise himself by speaking on the sea-  
 shore, that accustomed to the noise of the waves,  
 he might be undismayed at the shouts and hoarse  
 murmurs of the people. But what was matter of  
 more serious apprehension in an assembly of this  
 kind, was the influence of corrupted counsellors,  
 who being ambitious of leading the people, might  
 purchase their favour at the price of the public  
 prosperity. And to this influence we are to ascribe  
 those laws, which, in the later times of Athens,  
 complimented away to the people the funds that  
 ought to have been expended in providing for the  
 public defence, and in the stead of well-disciplined  
 armies and formidable fleets, gratified them with  
 shews and theatrical entertainments.

THE suffrages of the people in their assembly  
 were generally given by the holding up of hands :  
 they who were for the affirmative, held them up :  
 whence, in antient authors, *to hold up the hand*  
 signifies to ordain and establish. But when the  
 matter proposed was of high moment, and the  
 great persons of the commonwealth were deeply  
 interested in the fate of the question, it was cus-  
 tomary to vote by ballot, that the poorest citizen  
 of Athens might enjoy his liberty unrestrained.  
 The same method, as we have seen, was in use in  
 the Areopagus and the council of five hundred,  
 as well as in most of the smaller courts of Athens.  
 This way of voting was by *beans* or *pebbles*, black  
 and white : the *black* denied, the *white* affirmed ;  
 and in criminal cases, the *white* absolved, the *black*  
 condemned. If there was the same number of  
 white as of black, the law leaned to mercy, and  
 pronounced the prisoner not guilty.

BOOK CRIMINAL causes came before the popular as-

IV. sembly only in cases of appeal. Their peculiar

Sect. 3. province was to debate and determine about the high matters of government, peace and war, alliances with foreign states, raising the supplies, appointing the proper funds, making of new laws, and abrogating such as were become useless or detrimental. The only punishment it belonged to them to inflict was that of Ostracism, if the name of punishment may with propriety be ascribed to a sentence which affected neither the life, nor estate, nor reputation of the person concerned. Ostracism, or the *tile punishment*, was the voting into banishment for ten years any Athenian whose distinguished worth had rendered him formidable to liberty. It had its foundation in the jealousy inseparable from democratical states, and was intended to secure the constitution against the attempts of all such citizens, as had raised themselves above the common level by great and glorious actions, by their eloquence, their liberality, or even by their riches. The sentence against these *offenders by superior worth* was always decreed in the General Assembly, at which, on such an occasion, it was required that not less than six thousand voters should be present. The practice was, that each member of the assembly should write on an *earthen tile* (in Greek called *ostrakon*) the name of the party he would have condemned; when he, whose name was written on the greater number of tiles, was sentenced to banishment. The institution is said to have been as old as the days of Theseus: if so, it was seldom employed before the establishment of the commonwealth. It ended at last by the policy, it is said, of Alcibiades, who in conjunction with Nicias contrived to make it fall on one Hyperbolus, a mean fellow distinguished for nothing but informing against his betters; from

from which time the punishment fell into difuse, B o o k  
as too reproachful to be inflicted on persons ho- IV.  
nourable and virtuous. Sect. 3.

BESIDES these great councils, Athens had ten judicial courts, four of which took cognisance of actions concerning blood, the rest of civil matters. In the civil courts every Athenian, who was of the age of thirty, and not declared infamous, might claim a seat. Those who had leisure to hear causes, delivered in their names, together with the names of their father and borough, to the Thesmothetæ, who, after determining by lot which court should be assigned them, gave them tablets, on which was inscribed the *letter* of the court which the lot had directed; for the gate of each court was marked with a particular *letter*. These they carried to the crier of the court signified by the letter, and from him every man received a tablet marked with his own name and that of the court that fell to his lot, together with a scepter, the ensign of judicial authority. At their admission into the court, they took a solemn oath, 'to give sentence uprightly, and according to law, where the law had determined, or where it was silent, according to the best of their judgment.' After sentence pronounced, each judge had an obolus paid him. When the constitution was falling to decay, and false counsellors sought every means of conciliating popular favour, this stipend was advanced considerably.

THE most remarkable of these civil courts was denominated Helixæa, or *of the sun*. In this, which decided upon affairs of the greatest moment, the number of judges was always fifty at the least; and where the cause was of singular importance, the number rose sometimes to fifteen hundred.

OF



**BOOK** Of the criminal courts, two, respecting blood,  
**IV.** deserve to be noticed. To the one court, the  
**Sect. 3.** Phreattian\*, belonged the trial of the murderer, who had fled from justice. Such a person, when brought back to Attica to abide his trial, was not suffered to come on land, lest the earth should be polluted with the foot of the man of blood, but he was to be carried in a boat to the edge of the shore, where his judges were seated, and if found guilty, was immediately put to death, or according to others, was driven out to sea, and abandoned to the wind and waves: if the fact appeared to have been done without design, he was banished for a year. The other court, that of the Prytaneum, took cognisance of slaughters committed by things without life, stones, iron, timber, and the like: and whatever had been the instrument of the death of man, whether by accident, or by the direction of an unknown hand, or of a person that had escaped, was pronounced accursed, and ordered to be cast out of the Attic territories.

THESE several senatorial and judicial establishments must have left to the Archons but a small share of juridical power. In effect, from the time of Solon's legislation, their principal office seems to have been the introducing of the different causes to the several courts to whose cognisance they belonged.

SOLON's next care was concerning the regulation of manners. A remarkable spirit runs through all his laws respecting manners, principally with regard to these three particulars, humanity, the advancement of industry and virtue, and a zeal for the public good.

As to the first, not only does his appointment of the several tribunals and judicial processes al-

\* Τὸ ἐν Φρεατίῳ.

ready mentioned fully indicate his wish to possess the people with the strongest abhorrence of cruelty and bloody deeds, but also from the whole tenor of his institutions it is evident, that one of the principal purposes he had in view was to impress the mind with mercy. Instead of the rigorous punishment of death, denounced by Draco against all crimes whatsoever, he softened the laws: the penalties which he decreed affected the honour or the property of men, rather than their lives or limbs; and none were to be condemned to die, but such monsters as had been engaged in murderous attempts, the despisers of religion, the magistrate that disgraced his office, and conspirators against their country. To all other offenders the sanctuaries were open. There was to be a general release of prisoners every year, at the celebration of the Thesmophoria. And they who fell into errors *unwittingly* were not even to suffer the reproach of being arraigned in the public court, but were to be admonished and rebuked privately.

BUT besides this general tendency of Solon's laws, there were some particularly designed to enforce the dictates of humanity. It was forbidden, that any should speak ill of the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceased. The defamer and slanderer were to be fined severely. And he who reviled a living person at the sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, was to pay a mulct of five drachms, the price, according to Plutarch, of as many sheep. And lest sudden passion should prompt any to deeds of violence, it was forbidden to wear arms in the city, except in times of public danger.

NOR were penalties the only sanctions he employed. Sensible how highly the conferring of honours on virtue, and the inviting of men by these

**BOOK** these gentler arts, refines the sentiments, and im-

**IV.** proves the national character, he appointed various  
**Sect. 3.** rewards to the deserving. They who had performed eminent service to the state, were to have the first seats in all public places; they were to have pictures and statues erected to them; they were to be honoured with crowns, to enjoy immunity from all taxes, to be entertained at the public expence of their country, which last, Cicero tells us, was among the Grecians reputed one of their most signal honours. The very enjoying the right of suffrage, and the being eligible to a magistracy, were in the Athenian constitution a species of rewards: they were acknowledgments the state made to him who enjoyed them, that he was a virtuous citizen, being privileges from which, had he been an undutiful son, a reviler of the gods, a man of profligate manners, or a deserter of his country in her day of danger, the laws would have excluded him.

BUT nothing marks the gentleness of the Athenian institutions more forcibly, than the condition of the slaves in that state: their lot was so happy at Athens, as by Demosthenes to be held preferable to that of denizens in other cities. If a slave suffered under the imperiousness of a cruel master, he might take refuge in the temple of Theseus, there to claim the protection of the laws, which obliged the unfeeling master to dispose of him to another owner. Killing of a slave was by the law pronounced murder. Slaves were permitted to acquire estates to themselves, paying to their master a small yearly tribute: and if they could procure money to pay their ransom, their proprietor could not withhold their liberty from them. If they were called upon to take up arms, and behaved themselves well, they were rewarded



warded with enfranchisement, and held in singular B o o k  
esteem. IV.

IN one case only the Athenian slave became in- Sect. 2.  
capable of being released from the yoke of servitude; in the case of being convicted of ingratitude towards the indulgent master from whom he had obtained his freedom: he was then reduced to his former state of slavery for life. The very exception does honour to the lawgiver.

THE advancement of industry and virtue was likewise consulted by many excellent and well-devised laws. Trade, and every kind of industrious occupation, was declared honourable. An action of slander lay against him, who spoke contemptuously of the honest trader. And he who was remarkably ingenious in his art was to be accounted a friend to his country, and to have a place of honour at all games and public shews. A life of idleness was a crime cognisable by the Areopagus, and severely punished. All persons were required to have their children instructed in the rudiments of literature, or, if of meaner fortunes, to have them taught husbandry or some useful mechanic art. And though it was especially provided, that those who did not honour their parents, or refused them assistance, should be declared infamous, yet if a parent neglected the education of his child, that child was not bound to contribute to his maintenance, or to pay him filial duty. The same law was in force with regard to children who had been prostituted by their parents, and to children of spurious birth.

If any person was found to be extravagant, and to squander away his substance, he was condemned to infamy. There were officers appointed to inspect public entertainments, and to enforce the sumptuary laws. None but wines tempered with water were to be allowed at feasts, except one  
cup

**B o o k** cup of pure wine to the honour of the good genius. These ordinances concerning conduct in Sect. 2. private life affected still more severely those entrusted with any office relating to government; from these the laws required the utmost purity of manners. When a magistrate was to be chosen, the whole course of his past life was canvassed rigorously; nor could he be admitted, till it appeared, that he had been pious towards his parents, that he had not wasted his inheritance, nor given way to luxury. An Archon, who was seen drunk, was to suffer death. And the least blemish in a senator was sufficient to occasion his expulsion.

THE like upright and frugal manners were to have place in the conduct of all domestic affairs whatsoever. A bride, heiresses excepted, was not to carry with her to her husband's house any more than three garments, and vessels of small value. Heiresses were obliged to marry their nearest relations, that fortune might not be a temptation to ill-sorted marriages. And if a virgin happened to be left an orphan, and without a fortune, her nearest kinsman was either to give her a portion, or to marry her himself. The adulteress was not permitted to wear ornaments: if she did, any that met her were at liberty to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her, provided they did not kill or disable her. The man who lived with his wife, after she had been convicted of adultery, was infamous. No person was to be guardian to another, whose estate he was to enjoy after the minor's death: neither was a guardian to marry the mother of those orphans with whose estate he was entrusted. Tombs were not to be adorned with statues, or to have more work on them than ten men could finish in three days. A concourse of people was not to be allowed at funerals; nor were there to be any women to make lamentations, and tear their faces.

THE same regard to frugality moved Solon to **B o o k** restrain the recompence bestowed on those who **IV.** obtained the victory in the Olympic and Isthmian Sect. 3. games. For though the prize-crown was of small value, it had become a custom for the cities to which the victors belonged, to confer on them some noble pecuniary rewards. These were so extravagant at Athens, as to be thought by Solon to be burthensome to the state. It appears besides, that he entertained a low opinion of those boasted combatants : they were become useless members to the community ; and instead of cultivating that kind of activity and vigour that made them formidable in battle, they confined their whole excellence to the *agonistic* exercises ; ‘ so that,’ as Solon observed, ‘ they were dangerous victors, and ‘ were crowned rather against, than for their ‘ country.’

THE third class of laws were those, which related to the conservation of the public weal. If any citizen did injury to another, he was to be looked on as an invader of the common prosperity, and any Athenian might have his action against him.

EVERY person of free birth was at the age of eighteen to be enlisted in the city bands, and at the age of twenty, if occasion required, to march against the enemy. They who refused to serve in the armies of the republic were not permitted entrance into the public assemblies, or into the temples of the gods. The coward that forsook his station in the day of battle was to be adjudged infamous. An attempt to overthrow the liberties of his country did not only subject the traitor to capital infliction ; his kindred, with all his property, were to be banished for ever ; even his bones were not to be admitted within the sepulchre of his fathers ; they were cast out of the territory of Attica.



**BOOK** BUT among the laws of this class two especi-

**IV.** ally there are, well worthy of attention, which,  
**Sect. 3.** though apparently framed with deep wisdom, have not been adopted into the code of any other people—possibly in states less circumscribed, and under other forms of government, such laws might be unnecessary, and in many cases even inconvenient. Let not a stranger be admitted a denizen of Athens, except he is in perpetual exile from his own country, or has removed his family and all his property into Attica.’ Surrounded by jealous and often hostile states, it had been highly dangerous for Athens to have received into her magistracies and councils citizens with divided interests and affections. ‘Let him, who remains neuter in a sedition, suffer confiscation of goods, and be banished for life.’ In democracies commotions are to be expected, not unfrequently menacing ruin to the commonwealth. If, on such occasions, the more temperate citizens, from regard to private emolument or personal safety, withdraw their aid, they are guilty, Solon thought, of betraying into the hands of factious men those public interests, which by a timely and vigorous interposition they might be instrumental in preserving.

WE shall conclude this sketch of Solon’s institutions with the form of oath, which every Athenian was obliged to take, when arrived at the age of eighteen years, at which time his armour was delivered to him. It throws an additional light on the character of this people.

‘I WILL never do any thing to disgrace this armour. I will never desert my post, or revolt from my general; but I will fight for my country and religion, in an army or single combat. I will never be the cause of weakening or endangering my country. And if it shall be my fortune

'tune to sail on the seas, my country thinking  
 'fit to send me in a colony, I will readily acqui-  
 'esce, and enjoy that land which shall be allotted  
 'to me. I will firmly adhere to the present  
 'constitution; and whatsoever enactments the  
 'people shall please to pass, I will suffer no  
 'person to violate or pervert them, but I will,  
 'either singly by myself, or joining with others,  
 'endeavour to assert them. I will conform to the  
 'religion of my country. I swear by these follow-  
 'ing deities, the Agrauli, Mars, Jupiter, the Earth,  
 'and Diana. I will lay down my life, if occasion  
 'requires it, for my native country. My endea-  
 'vours to extend the dominions of Athens shall  
 'never cease, while there are wheat, barley, vine-  
 'yards, and olive trees, without its limits.'

GREAT indeed would have been the reputation  
 and happiness of a state living under a system of  
 laws contrived with so much wisdom, had its  
 peace been more effectually secured against the  
 raging of domestic storms. Anacharsis of Scythia,  
 who was about this time at Athens, observed this  
 defect in Solon's institutions: 'In your state,' said  
 he to him, 'wise men debate, and mad men de-  
 'termine.' But it was not altogether the spirit of  
 Solon, it was in a great measure the spirit of the  
 Athenians themselves, that dictated this order of  
 polity. The wisdom of the legislator was in many  
 instances forced to yield to the impetuous temper  
 of the people. However, his laws of manners have  
 been generally held in high esteem. Tacitus thinks  
 them more excellent and more complete than those  
 of either Lycurgus or Minos. The Romans did  
 not disdain to transcribe most of them into their  
 celebrated Twelve Tables; and from they have  
 been adopted by the wisest nations of the earth.

So sensible were the Athenians at first of the  
 merit of Solon's legislation, that a decree was  
 framed, that his laws should remain in force for

BOOK an hundred years, and the Thesmothetæ were to  
 IV. take a solemn oath for the observation of them.

Sect. 3. Nevertheless the inconstant people soon began to  
 raise difficulties about the import and expediency  
 of each particular law, and to fatigue the author  
 of their code with numberless objections. This  
 induced Solon to leave Athens, until the new esta-  
 blishments were become familiar to his country-  
 men. According to historians, he was absent  
 ten years ; and these he employed in travelling  
 through the most cultivated nations. Some part  
 of the time, he resided among the priests of Sais  
 and Heliopolis, those famed sages of Egypt. He  
 also visited Cyprus, where he made his name me-  
 morable by the beautiful and convenient struc-  
 tures, with which he persuaded one of the Cyprian  
 princes to adorn his kingdom. Thus usefully did  
 this good man employ his years of leisure in con-  
 sulting the happiness of others, and at the same  
 time enriching his own mind with valuable im-  
 provements ; and this he did at a season of life,  
 when his age might well have admitted of repose,  
 and when the full portion of glory he had acquired  
 seemed to demand nothing more.

Ecf. Christ 582. ON his return to Athens, Solon found that fac-  
 tion had again confounded the whole state of  
 things. The commonwealth was distracted by  
 three powerful parties ; that of the nobles, headed  
 by Lycurgus ; that of the people, under Pisistrat-  
 us ; and that of the traders and seamen, who de-  
 manded a mixture of aristocracy and popular go-  
 vernment, at the head of which party was Mega-  
 cles. The Athenian patriot endeavoured to com-  
 pose these fatal differences, and to prevail on the  
 leaders of each faction to consult the public peace.  
 They all received his exhortations with great shew  
 of respect, especially Pisistratus, who had always  
 appeared particularly devoted to him, and now  
 expressed



expressed the warmest zeal for the ordinances B o o k  
 which he had established. Nevertheless, it was IV.  
 from him Solon apprehended the greatest danger Sect. 3.  
 to the common liberty. He was a nobleman of  
 the most amiable qualifications, who joined ex-  
 traordinary natural abilities to the advantages  
 of a very extensive fortune : his deportment was  
 popular and courteous ; and his manner of speech  
 exceedingly persuasive and affecting : the interests  
 of his fellow citizens seemed to be his own, and  
 every poor distressed Athenian found in him a  
 friend. Neither were these virtues merely an as-  
 sumed semblance, the specious covering, as they  
 have been too often made, of ambition ; they  
 were, many of them, the real temper of his soul,  
 as plainly appeared, when he was risen to the full  
 enjoyment of power.

SOLON however saw through his designs, and  
 would have opened the eyes of the people to the  
 peril that hung over them. There is an observa-  
 tion of his to this purpose, recorded by Plutarch,  
 which deserves notice. Thespis, who had consi-  
 derably improved the first rude state of tragedy,  
 began about this time to exhibit his pieces at  
 Athens, the novelty of which entertainment made  
 it extremely pleasing to the multitude. Solon  
 went to see the performance, and after the play,  
 demanded of the poet, whether he was not ashamed  
 to tell so many lies before such a company ? The-  
 spis answering, that there was no harm to tell lies  
 in jest and merriment : ‘ Ah,’ replies Solon,  
 striking his staff against the ground, ‘ if we com-  
 mend such merriment as this, it will soon find a  
 way into our most serious affairs.’ Though Plu-  
 tarch does not tell us in what view Solon said this,  
 it certainly was an oblique stroke at Pisistratus, who  
 was personating the friend of the people, while he  
 misled them by his lying representations.

BOOK BUT with all the warnings of this clear-sighted  
 IV. statesman, at length the wiles of Pisistratus wrought  
 Sect. 3. effectually. He caused himself to be wounded in  
 several parts of the body ; and in this condition,  
 his wounds bleeding fresh, he rushes into the mar-  
 ket-place, where he tells the assembled multitude,  
 ‘ it was on their account he had been treated thus ;  
 ‘ he had no enemies, but those who were enemies  
 ‘ to them ; and he should soon fall a victim for  
 ‘ supporting the liberty of his country.’ This  
 threw the whole city into confusion : the people  
 crowded into the forum from all quarters, where  
 it was immediately proposed that a guard should  
 be allowed Pisistratus. Solon made vigorous op-  
 position to it ; but this was no season for cool  
 counsels. Rage and faction governed the assem-  
 bly : so that a decree passed, ‘ that he should have  
 ‘ a guard of fifty men.’ This was all Pisistratus  
 desired. He soon increased the number, and  
 having seized on the citadel, usurped the sove-  
 reignty, as Solon had foretold to his unbelieving  
 countrymen. This last would have excited the  
 Athenians to a vindication of their liberties ; but  
 finding that they wanted resolution, he retired out  
 of Attica.

Ref. Christ  
 577.

THE interest we naturally feel in the fortunes of  
 men distinguished by extraordinary ability and zeal  
 for the service of mankind will justify us in drop-  
 ping for a moment the thread of our story, to note  
 down some particulars of the private life of Solon,  
 as well before his legislation, as after his final de-  
 parture from his enslaved country.

LONG before he was called to the honourable  
 office of prescribing laws to Athens, Solon had  
 the happiness of enjoying the acquaintance of a  
 company of sages, who together with himself are  
 become famous in the records of history under the  
 title of the Seven wise men of Greece. These are  
 said

said to have been Thales of Miletus, Solon, Bias Book of Priene, Chilo of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, IV. Pittacus of Mitylene, and Periander tyrant of Sect. 3. Corinth, in whose stead some authors more properly place Anacharsis the Scythian. It must be confessed, Periander's fame for wisdom seems mostly to have arisen from his affecting a taste for literature, and from the ostentatious regard he paid to learned men, of which he gave a proof when he once procured an interview of all the sages enumerated above at his own palace, where he entertained them with great delicacy and sumptuousness. But as for real wisdom, *the virtue of the heart*, he had it not. He was the oppressor of his people, and indulged himself in the most brutal excesses of cruelty even against those of his own family. And Diogenes Laertius hath preserved to us a letter written to him by Solon, which plainly shews what opinion the Athenian lawgiver entertained of Periander's conduct.

ANACHARSIS, the only member of this illustrious company who did not owe his birth to Greece or the Grecian colonies, was a prince of the royal blood of Scythia, whom a love of wisdom had drawn to Athens: here he so greatly profited by the happy opportunity of knowing and conversing with Solon, that he obtained the reputation of being one of the most accomplished persons of his time. A knowledge of the arts of government and legislation, and of the means of making nations happy, appears from history to have been the foundation on which the Sages of Greece rested their claim to public notice, Thales the Milesian being the only person among them who applied himself to the study of natural things and of geometry, the rudiments of which sciences he had been taught by the Egyptians. There is a story preserved in the life of Thales by his biographer, which must have conduced greatly to raise the character



BOOK character of those men whom the Grecian annals distinguish by the peculiar appellation of *wise*.  
 IV. Sect. 3. Certain fishermen of the island of Cos had the fortune to draw up in their nets a golden tripod, which according to the piety of the times they carried to the oracle of Apollo, desiring counsel in what manner they should dispose of it. The answer was, 'that it should be given to the *Wise*st.' Accordingly it was presented to Thales, by whom the honour was modestly declined, with advice that they should bestow it on Bias. From him it was sent to another, and so to every one of these *Wise Men*, until it came to Solon, who offered it to Apollo, with this saying, worthy of a better religion, 'that to God alone was the prize of wisdom to be offered.' An ancient author, quoted by Laertius in the life of Bias, relates the adventure with some other circumstances extremely remarkable. He tells us, that the tripod was inscribed with these words, TO THE WISEST, and that it was taken up by some fishermen of Athens, who referred the disposal of it to the general assembly of the people. It seems, Bias had ransomed certain Messenian virgins, who were in captivity on the Ionian coast: the generous Greek had not only saved them from servitude, he had also taken a tender care of their education and manners, and after some time had restored them to their parents. The father of these maidens happened at this juncture to be at Athens, and related what Bias had done. Immediately the people voted him the *wisest man*, and decreed that the tripod should be given to him; which he, in the manner above ascribed to Solon, offered up in the temple of Apollo. It is worthy of notice, that at Athens, in those days, to be the *wisest man* was to be the *most virtuous*.

THE usurpation of Pisistratus having compelled B o o k  
Solon to take a final leave of his native country, IV.  
he passed over to Lydia in Asia Minor, over which Sect. 3.  
at that time reigned the celebrated Cræsus, whose  
name is become proverbial for his extraordinary  
wealth. From what historians relate it ap-  
pears, that Cræsus was possessed of many valuable  
endowments, and probably might have held a  
place among the greatest princes, had not prospe-  
rity corrupted him. His court was always open  
to persons of distinguished worth. As soon there-  
fore as he heard that Solon had left Athens, he Bef. Christ  
sent him an invitation to come to Sardis, the city 561.  
where he had his residence. Orders were given,  
that the venerable sage should be received with  
the utmost pomp. The first apartment he was ad-  
mitted into was magnificently adorned, and filled  
with a multitude of courtiers in costly attire, stand-  
ing round a nobleman whose ornaments had the  
shew of regal dignity. The next apartment exceed-  
ed this : and the third was yet more sumptuous. In  
this manner was Solon led through a long range  
of rooms, all rising one above the other in magni-  
ficence and splendor, till at last he reached that  
where the sovereign was. He found Cræsus seated  
on a throne of gold, a precious crown on his  
head, and his robes covered with jewels of dazzling  
lustre. This fastuous way of expressing majesty  
seemed poor to our wise Athenian, who, instead of  
being moved to admiration, beheld it with a re-  
proving eye. Cræsus then ordered, that he should  
be conducted through his palace, and that all his  
treasures should be displayed before him. And now  
supposing he had vanquished the indifference of the  
philosopher, he asked him, ‘ Who was the hap-  
piest man he had ever known ? ’ ‘ An Athenian,  
‘ one Tellus, answered Solon, ‘ a man of moderate  
‘ fortune, but of manners unblemished, blessed  
‘ with virtuous children, and who died fighting  
‘ for

Book ' for his country.'—' But after him,' resumed the  
 IV. king, ' was there ever any, whose happiness was  
 Sect. 3. ' to be compared to mine?'—' Yes,' said Solon,  
 ' Cleobis and Bito, sons to a priestess of Argos.  
 ' Such was their filial piety, than when the oxen  
 ' were long in coming, they yoked themselves to  
 ' their mother's chariot, and drew the priestess to  
 ' the temple Transported with joy at the honour  
 ' she received from the duteous affection of her  
 ' children, the mother offered up her prayers to  
 ' Juno, that she would reward them with her  
 ' choicest blessings. The goddess lent a favourable  
 ' ear to her request, and the two young men, hav-  
 ' ing fallen asleep, awaked no more.'—' What  
 ' then' said Cræsus, ' is all my splendor and glory  
 ' of my kingdom to be of no account?'—' O  
 ' king,' answered this excellent man, ' Providence  
 ' has given to us Greeks a kind of wisdom fitted  
 ' to the obscurer fortunes of middle life, rather  
 ' than to the pomp of courts ; and this forbids us  
 ' to be elated on the enjoyments of the present  
 ' hour, or to esteem men happy from possessions  
 ' that may pass away. He alone is to be pro-  
 ' nounced happy, to whom God has given to live  
 ' and to die in happiness : but the happiness of  
 ' him whose days are not ended is like the glory  
 ' of a wrestler who is yet within the ring,  
 ' precarious and uncertain.' These were unwel-  
 ' come words in the ears of a gay prince too much  
 ' accustomed to flattery, who required the admo-  
 ' nition by a contemptuous dismissal of its author :  
 ' but the time came round, when he fatally experi-  
 ' enced the truth of Solon's remark. Some few  
 ' years after, Cyrus the Persian made war on the  
 ' king of Lydia, overturned his kingdom, and made  
 ' him prisoner. Cræsus was condemned to be  
 ' burnt, and when the fire was now set to the pile,  
 ' he thrice repeated with passion the name of Solon.

Bes. Christ  
 548.

Curiosity



Curiosity inducing his conqueror to suspend the BOOK  
 execution till he should learn who was the deity IV.  
 that Cræsus invoked, ‘ He was the wisest man,’ Sect. 3.  
 said the unfortunate prince, ‘ that ever graced my  
 ‘ court ;’ and in proof related the conversation  
 the reader has heard. The instructive lesson sunk  
 deep into the heart of Cyrus, who not only dis-  
 charged Cræsus from the intended punishment,  
 but held him thenceforward in the highest honour.  
 Thus did this wise man, as Plutarch observes,  
 prove of infinite service to two kings ; he saved  
 the life of one, and opened the mind and improved  
 the heart of the other. Solon however lived not  
 to see his own observation verified in the fall of  
 the Lydian empire. He retired to Cyprus, and  
 died shortly after his interview with Cræsus ; but  
 in what city, authors do not agree.

LET us now return to Athens, where an impa-  
 tient people soon began to feel the galling pressure  
 of that yoke which Pisistratus had fastened on  
 them, and as quickly passed from the extreme of  
 love to the utmost hatred of their master. Con-  
 trary however to the practice of other usurpers,  
 his manner of government was such, as seemed  
 almost to sanctify usurpation. He oppressed not  
 any man. He was courteous and affable to all.  
 Even personal insults he passed by without resent-  
 ment. His chief concern appeared to be, to ad-  
 vance the prosperity of the Athenian people, and  
 to melt down their stubborn temper by the force  
 of kind offices. For this purpose he adorned the  
 city with stately edifices, and encouraged planting  
 and agriculture throughout all the Attic territories.  
 He has the merit of being the first that built a li-  
 brary for public use ; and to him most authors  
 ascribe the collecting together of Homer’s poems,  
 and the digesting of them into regular order. The  
 laws also were permitted to have their course, the  
 constitutions

**B O O K** constitutions of Solon were observed, and the several magistrates were elected, with this difference  
 Sect. 3. only, that they were chosen out of Pisistratus' dependents. And as to taxes, the only one he imposed on them was the same that had been usually paid for the support and defence of the state, the tenth part of the yearly produce of their lands.

NEVERTHELESS, all his virtues weighed little with the people of Athens, to whom his most beneficial ordinances appeared a burden, because enforced by an authority not legally established. Megacles and Lycurgus, the heads of the two opposite factions, took advantage of these dispositions of the people, and by degrees formed a party against the usurper, powerful enough to force him out of Attica. But these popular leaders, who, like most others in their situation, under pretence of serving the public meant only to aggrandize themselves, could not long agree together. Megacles found himself the dupe of Lycurgus. He began therefore to treat with Pisistratus, and having made his terms with him, effected his restoration to the sovereignty. The stipulated price of this piece of service was, that Pisistratus should take to wife the daughter of Megacles, whom accordingly he married, and retained till he thought himself in a condition to despise Megacles, when he began to treat his new wife with great indignity, under colour that she belonged to a family that was accursed. A fresh coalition between the contending parties was the consequence of this impolitic conduct. Pisistratus seeing them all united against him, thought it wisest to retire before the gathering storm, and passed over to Eretria.

He returned however in about eleven years, when having formed several alliances, and raised a considerable force, he invaded Attica, and took  
 Athens

Athens by surprise. It appears, that the Atheni- B o o k  
 ans shewed little vigour on this occasion. The in- IV.  
 trigues of their great men had broken them into Sect. 3.  
 parties, and this division in their councils made  
 them an easy prey to the enemy. It may be also,  
 that many of them were become the better affected  
 to the government of Pisistratus, on account of  
 the domestic troubles they had been involved in,  
 from the time of his expulsion. On his restora-  
 tion, Megacles, with the whole family of the  
 Alcæonidæ, left Attica. The fortune of Pisi-  
 stratus underwent no subsequent change, but he  
 continued in possession of sovereign power to his  
 death. From the beginning of his usurpation to  
 the period of his life there elapsed thirty-three  
 years, of which he reigned seventeen. His first  
 exile lasted five years, his second eleven.

THE power of Pisistratus had taken so firm a  
 root, that it descended after his decease to his fa-  
 mily, though to which of his two sons, Hippias  
 and Hipparchus, historians are not agreed: the  
 most probable opinion is, that they reigned jointly.  
 These young princes had wisdom enough for many  
 years to imitate the excellent qualities of their fa-  
 ther, his courtesy and affability, his concern for  
 the common prosperity: like him, they delighted  
 in being the protectors of the learned and ingeni-  
 ous, and were at uncommon pains to cultivate  
 and improve the minds of their people. So that  
 Athens was in a manner subdued by these humane  
 and gentle arts, and seemed scarcely to know that  
 her liberty was taken from her; when one act of  
 violence roused again her spirit, and brought on  
 the final overthrow of the house of Pisistratus.

THERE were at Athens two young men nobly  
 born, Harmodius, a youth of singular beauty, and  
 Aristogiton, who were united to each other by  
 the strictest bands of friendship. It happened that  
 Hipparchus



Βοοκ Hipparchius, prompted by a base passion, injured

IV. Harmodius in a very sensible manner. Impatient of

Sect. 3. the insult, the two friends vowed to take vengeance on the whole family, and having engaged some persons to assist them, it was determined that they should vindicate their own and their country's wrongs by the destruction of the brothers. But before the appointed time, a suspicion arising that their design was discovered, and Hippias not being in the city, they two alone fell on Hipparchus, and slew him. His death was immediately revenged by the guards, who killed Harmodius, and took Aristogiton prisoner. This attempt terrified Hippias greatly, and he resolved to punish all those concerned in it with exemplary severity. Accordingly Aristogiton was brought before him, and at his command put to the rack, in order to extort from him the names of all who were privy to the conspiracy. The young man, as soon as he felt the torments, named some of the tyrant's best friends, who were immediately led away to execution; he then named more; and they also were put to death. The tyrant continuing to ask him whether there were not some others, 'Thou thyself art now the only one, whom I would wish to suffer death,' replied Aristogiton, smiling, and shortly after expired. There was also a woman whom Aristogiton loved, and who was seized by the orders of Hippias, and put to the torture. For some time she bore it with wonderful firmness; but when she found she could endure no longer, she bit off her tongue, and spit it out, that she might not have it in her power to divulge the secrets with which she had been entrusted.

Bef. Christ  
513.

THESE extraordinary instances of resolution inspired the people with new courage: and the tyrannical temper, which Hippias gave way to, completed what those examples had begun; for, instead

stead of the mild and humane dispositions which **B o o k** he had always shewn, he was now become gloomy **IV.** and suspicious, oppressive and cruel. In the mean **Sect. 3.** time Clisthenes, son to Megacles, was soliciting at Delphi in behalf of his country. He had been commissioned by the Amphictyons to rebuild the temple of the Pythian god, which had been destroyed by fire; and that he might ingratiate himself with the priests, he added much to the magnificence of the building, by facing it with Parian marble at his own private expence: for he was a person of immense wealth, both by his grandfather Alcmaeon, and by his mother Agarista, daughter to Clisthenes prince of Sicyon. It was on this account that the oracle was devoted to his interests, as we have already related, and that the Lacedemonians were urged with repeated commands, in the name of the god, to undertake the deliverance of the Athenians. The event has been also mentioned. Hippias was obliged to abandon Attica, and seek a refuge at Sigeum. We shall presently see, what a dismal conclusion his fortunes had.

THE expulsion of the Pisistratidæ not only relieved Athens from the humiliations of servitude, it restored to her a number of gallant citizens, who impatient of the tyrant's yoke, had during the late administration taken refuge in the neighbouring states. Among these was Clisthenes, just mentioned; from his illustrious birth, his wealth, his numerous followers, his abilities, and what was still higher, his integrity, one of the most respectable persons of his time. This nobleman, far from employing his advantages, like the mistaken Pisistratus, in the pursuits of a narrow ambition, had no object so dear to him as the prosperity of his country. His active exertion at Delphi had effected the deliverance of Athens from her tyrants;

BOOK rants ; and he had returned, animated with the

IV. same zeal for the public happiness. Strongly attached to the constitutions of Solon, with whom  
Sect. 3. the whole family of the Alcæonidæ had been in strict connection, he resolved to establish them in their full vigour, and to give to Athens that splendor to which her illustrious lawgiver sought to raise her. Some few alterations he introduced, by the change of times become necessary. The simplicity of the first ages had distributed the Athenians into four classes, soldiers, artificers, husbandmen, shepherds : and this division Solon had followed in the appointment of his national senate of Four Hundred, one hundred from each class. Time and the progress of manners having now rendered this mode of classing inadequate, Clisthenes threw all the freeborn Athenians, without regard to their occupations, into ten tribes, whom he named (probably to add dignity to his establishment) from the Athenian heroes of antient days ; appointing, that out of each tribe fifty persons should be deputed to form a general representative council, which thenceforth took the appellation of the senate of Five Hundred. He added also some few laws to those which Solon had enacted, in order to secure the public liberty against future invasion. Every Athenian was required to bind himself by solemn oath, that he would with his own hand slay the man who should attempt to violate the liberties of his country. And the very meditating of such an enterprise, if proved against any person, though no overt act had accompanied it, was made capital.



## B O O K V.

## SECTION I.

WE are now entering into one of the most **B o o k** memorable periods of antient history, *the* V.  
*age of glory of the Athenian people.* Every thing **Seçt. I.**  
 that can give fame or dignity appears at this time, **Bef. Chrift**  
 as it were, conspiring to advance them to great- 516.  
 ness—an unshaken resolution in the defence of the  
 noblest cause, the cause of liberty and the public  
 weal ; a courage unappalled in the utmost extre-  
 mity of peril ; feats scarcely credible, wrought by  
 sea, by land ; victories won, where even to have  
 escaped might have been esteemed a miracle—and  
 with all this, the humanest sentiments, and the  
 most generous tenderness of heart, preserved  
 amidst all the din of war ; a love of literature, a  
 delicacy of genius, never equalled by any nation—

BOOK the laurel crown and the ivy wreath were both  
 V. theirs. And those men, who yielded to none in  
 Sect. 1. the day of battle, were also foremost in every refined improvement.

BUT what is most amazing, never did people rise by such quick gradations to the summit of glory. Within less than eighty years before the Persians invaded Greece, Athens was a republic of small figure, often distressed by the petty nations around her: and yet now did that glorious people find themselves in a condition to bid defiance to the powers of Persia, and with impunity to scorn the proffered friendship of the greatest monarch of the earth. In literature likewise was their progress rapid. Until the days of Pisistratus, as we have seen, the politer studies were but faintly cultivated by the Athenians, and only then was the great prince of poets introduced among them. Yet so it was, before two generations had passed away, Athens was become the seat of science, the chosen abode of the tragic and comic muse, of both philosophy and eloquence. To account for this surprising advancement, cannot surely be esteemed an uninteresting digression. The prosperity, as well as the decay of nations, has its causes. Whence therefore this strength of genius to the inhabitants of this little spot of earth? How came they to be possessed of that intrepidity, that readiness of apprehension, that energy of thought, which to this day render them the subject of admiration? The spirit of liberty, it may in general be answered, wrought within them, and bore them on to these great things. But still it will remain to be explained, why, at this period of time, the influence of that spirit should have been so powerful. The truth is, there was an happy conjunction of circumstances, a number of lucky events, that concurred at this time in favour of the Athenians.

A short

A short review of those may give us an useful in- B o o k  
sight into the history of this illustrious people. V.

IN the first place, they had lately felt the yoke Sect. i.  
of tyranny; and the violence and oppression of  
the last years of Hippias were full in their remem-  
brance. The Athenians always loved liberty, but  
*now* they knew what it was to lose it. The evils  
of those wretched days had taught them, at what  
a price this blessing was to be valued, and how  
much it became them to suffer in defence of it.—  
Indeed it appears evidently what an impression  
these things had left on their minds, from the ex-  
traordinary honours they paid to the memory of  
that admirable pair of friends who had attempted  
their deliverance. Not only they raised statues to  
them; solemn obsequies were also annually per-  
formed to their memory. Their praises were  
sung both at public feasts and private banquets.  
It was even decreed, that no slave should ever  
bear the name of Harmodius or Aristogiton. And  
their posterity, through every generation, were to  
be free from all imposts, and to be allowed a pen-  
sion out of the revenues of the state. Nay, Ari-  
stogiton's mistress, who shewed that wonderous  
resolution in the midst of tortures, was not forgot-  
ten: and because it was thought inconsistent with  
purity of manners to erect the statue of a woman  
of reproachful life, she was represented under the  
form of a lioness without a tongue. This effusion  
of gratitude plainly speaks minds deeply affected  
with their late condition. The same turn appears  
also in the laws enacted after the expulsion of  
Hippias. It was made a rule, that not only he  
who should engage in subverting the common-  
wealth, but also the person who should bear any  
office after its subversion, should be deemed an  
enemy to his country; and whosoever killed him,  
should be held guiltless. The observation of this



**B**OOK law was moreover enforced by the sanction of an  
 V. oath. Every Athenian was to swear, that he would  
 Sect. 1. with his own hand endeavour to destroy that man  
 who should aim at the dissolution of the republican  
 government, or accept of any office after its dissolution.  
 And if any person should attempt the destruction of the tyrant,  
 and fail in the attempt, the Athenians were by the same  
 oath bound to pay the like distinguished honours to his  
 posterity as were paid to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

ANOTHER circumstance, at this juncture, extremely favourable to Athens, was the placing an encrease of power in the hands of the people. This, we see, was the *spirit* of Solon's institutions; and Clisthenes, who is spoken of as one of the greatest men of his age, did after his return add many things to strengthen the popular government.—There was also the Great Assembly, in which every citizen, not declared infamous, had a suffrage. So that in Athens the poorest member of the commonwealth was immediately interested in the public fortune. In despotic states, it matters not, at least to the meaner ranks of men, who has the power, revolutions of government producing only a change of masters. But here, the lowest Athenian had a country (in the properest sense) to fight for; he was one of the lords of the commonwealth; he had real rights and privileges, and could not give up the constitution without being a traitor to himself. In their councils, it is true, this power of the multitude was often found inexpedient. However, at this time of danger from the common enemy of Greece, when the exigencies of the state demanded the assistance of each individual, it doubtless was an happy circumstance, that every Athenian, from his civil situation, must have been ready to expose both his property and his person in defence of his country, and that scarcely was there a man, who did not choose rather

ther to fall with the commonwealth than to purchase life with the exchange of liberty. B o o k  
V.

AGAIN, from the expulsion of Hippias to the Persian invasion, Athens had a continued train of difficulties to struggle with. Cleomenes first endeavoured to subject them to the Spartan power; and to model their state to his will. He had assisted them against Hippias; but he soon became jealous of the independency they affected, and of the great abilities displayed by Clisthenes, then at the head of the Athenian affairs. This moved the Spartan king, as we have mentioned elsewhere, to employ the force of his country against the Athenians, and to procure the banishment of Clisthenes: not content with which, he caused seven hundred families also to be sent into exile, and seizing on the citadel, would have entirely subverted the democracy. But these acts of violence roused the Athenians. Cleomenes was forced to betake himself to flight. Clisthenes and all the exiles were recalled. The respite however was but a short one. Stung with the indignity, Cleomenes with a numerous army again invaded Attica, whilst the Eubœans and Bœotians, with whom he was leagued, were preparing on their side to ravage it. Destruction seemed now to threaten Athens, when the generosity of the Corinthians, and of Demaratus the other Spartan king, interposed in the manner related above, and obliged Cleomenes to retire. Nevertheless, the Eubœans and Bœotians were still carrying on hostilities.—The former of these the Athenians marched against, and easily defeated: but the Bœotians strengthened themselves by an alliance with those of Ægina; by which means this became a long and hazardous war, the Æginetæ being not only a martial people, but a people powerful at sea, and thence able to lay waste, almost at pleasure, the Attic borders. In the mean time, the other ene-

T 2

mies.

BOOKIES of Athens were not inactive. Cleomenes had

V. found the art to prepossess the whole Spartan state  
Sect. 1. against this rising city ; and by the basest policy  
Hippias had been sent for, that by reinstating him  
in the sovereignty they might again depress the as-  
piring genius of Athens. Of such importance was  
liberty, even in the judgment of the Spartans  
themselves : if this rival, whom they feared, were  
deprived of it, they well knew there was an end  
of her strength and glory. But the inference more  
particularly to be deduced from the state of Athens  
at this juncture is, that these trying circumstances,  
these continual wars, this lowering aspect of foreign  
affairs, were of real use to the Athenians. To a  
people who love their country, times of public  
danger are always times of public virtue : the  
urging difficulty calls forth the whole vigor of  
their spirit, and occasions a full exertion of their  
abilities and fortitude. So that this seemingly ad-  
verse chance of things proved a real cause of splen-  
dor and power to the Athenian people. Hence it  
was, that the invasion of the Persians found them  
acquainted with perils, and accustomed to the bu-  
siness of arms ; it found them brave, hardy, unit-  
ed, strong in soldiers, and strong in chiefs.

ANOTHER circumstance deserves attention.  
The strength of the Æginetæ consisted in their  
fleets ; and the Athenians had only land forces.  
The fable of the poets is well known, that both  
Neptune the monarch of the deep, and Minerva  
the goddess of civil arts, claimed the patronage of  
Athens, and that the victory was decided in fa-  
vour of the latter. This antient fiction witness-  
eth, what was of old the genius of the Athenian  
people. They were naturally averse from a mari-  
time life, and greatly inexpert in naval affairs.  
But the distresses of the Ægean war introduced  
an entire change of policy. The Athenians open-  
ed their eyes on the advantages they were sur-  
rounded



rounded with, and navigation begun to be cultivated among them. B o o k V.

THE same general cause is to be assigned for the Sect. 1. progress which this celebrated people made in the several walks of literature, as for their attainments in the art and practice of war. Liberty is the harbinger of every great exertion of the human mind : science and the arts are never found at a distance from her. Genius is, as it were, licentious ; it loves to sport itself after its own wanton manner, unawed by the jealous inspection of tyrants, uncontrolled even by the frown of laws. Under these circumstances only, saith the sublime de-Longin. scribe of sublimity, does the soul of man stretch 44. itself to its just dimensions, becoming capable of ‘ the wide-expatiating view,’ and ‘ the bold-towering thought.’ Thus it was at Athens. There imagination knew no bounds ; and all the excess of liberty was fully indulged, except when the religion of the superstitious people happened to be wounded. To this it is owing, that the Old Comedy presents us with the freest scenes of wit and humour that ever were produced : the poet had no restraints from abroad, and might ridicule the most venerable characters without hazard. We mean not to justify the Athenians in this point. It was a vicious excess, making that fatal to virtue, which ought only to have been levelled at the base and profligate : and better certainly had it been, to have wanted the humorous sallies of Aristophanes, than to have purchased them at so dear a price, as the impairing of the public manners, and disgracing of the Athenian name. But whatever was the petulancy of comic writers, undoubtedly it was the extreme freedom of the democratical government, that rendered the Attic climate so favourable to genius, and raised every lettered art among them to that unrivalled degree of perfection it attained.

ANOTHER

BOOK ANOTHER cause, that contributed to the advancement of literature at Athens, was the form of polity. All matters were referred to the great assembly of the people; and neither domestic regulations nor foreign alliances, neither peace nor war, could be ultimately determined on, till their consent had given ratification. On this account, *persuasion* was among the principal instruments of the Athenian government, and the lowest citizens were accustomed to be addressed by persons exercised in all the arts of speech. Now this did not only make oratory necessary to as many as were desirous of appearing to advantage in the public councils; it had the further effect of rendering the people themselves nice and critical hearers. It is to be considered besides, that all Athenians had a place in the judicial courts, where causes both civil and criminal came under their decision: of course, they must by degrees have become expert in argument, and ready at unfolding the intricacies of forensic pleadings. With opportunities such as these, the culture of the mind was an easy attainment. It was scarcely possible that they should not have been an acute accomplished people, when even the meanest artificers were thus invested daily with the respectable character of judges, and conversant in the most important questions of state.

A practice also obtained in this polished city, which may deservedly be reckoned among the most powerful causes of its eminence in letters. It was usual here to dispute in public the prize of wit; and not only the poet's wreath, but oftentimes the greatest honours were the recompence of such as excelled. To the emulation excited by this custom do we owe in a great measure those inimitable performances that graced the Athenian stage, the poet writing with a view to the highest distinctions, and to obtain the suffrages of an impartial, delicate, knowing people. At the same time,

time, this kind of contest preserved the public Book taste : from entertainments thus refined the lowest V. Athenians derived that relish for the beauties of Sect. 1. composition, that purity of style, that fineness of ear, which antiquity with one consent hath ascribed to them. A single example may be sufficient to prove the fact. Theophrastus, a Lesbian, the disciple of Aristotle, was one of the brightest geniuses of his age. The purity of the Attic idiom it was his particular ambition to imitate; for which purpose he established his residence at Athens, where he soon obtained a very high reputation, as much for elegance of diction, as the sterling worth of his matter. After many years of fame, chancing in the market-place to be cheapening some vegetables, the herb-woman took him short with, ‘ Stranger, you cannot have them for less.’ She knew him not : but some peculiarity of phrase detected him, to an Attic ear, the native of another country. The philosopher turned off, much confounded, that after all his pains he was still in accuracy of language unequal to the meanest of the Athenian people.

Cic. clar.  
orat.

WE may also apply to the progress of letters, what we have before observed of the success of the Athenian arms. This was a time of struggle and endeavour : and at such a time, wherever genius is, it always exerts itself, impelling us to things great and worthy. In the busy days of Themistocles and Aristides, amidst the alarms of the Persian war, Æschylus flourished, and Sophocles planned his sublime dramas. And of them that followed, all the most eminent were those, who lived nearest to that illustrious age when distress rendered Athens glorious.

NEITHER should we omit another circumstance, in accounting for the happy influence of this period upon genius,—the contagion of example. Our souls catch, as it were, the love of glory from  
from



B o o k from each other ; and when we behold all around

V. us engaged in noble pursuits, emulation adds vigor  
Sect. 1. to our spirit, and every power within us is called forth to action. Hence, among all improved nations, has that point of time, which has been most distinguished by gallantry in arms, been also memorable for producing men of extraordinary accomplishments of mind. At Athens it was so remarkably : and, together with the most famed of her laurelled chiefs, shone forth her greatest poets and best philosophers. Here might be seen a Miltiades, a Themistocles, a Cimon ; there an Æschylus, a Cratinus, a Sophocles : here a Nicias, a Pericles, an Alcibiades ; there an Euripides, an Eupolis, an Aristagoras, an Aristophanes, a Socrates, a Plato. Arms give life to arts : and the hero and the scholar seem to contend, who shall best adorn their common country.

A custom prevailed at Athens of doing honour to the memory of those who fell in war, whether by funeral orations or panegyric verse, which must have contributed not a little to the flourishing of genius in that city. The subjects, which called forth the exertion of eminent ability, were of the highest dignity. Justice was to be done to the merit of those glorious men, who died for their country at Marathon, at Salamis, at Plateæ. Themes of this nature must have poured into the breast of the poet and the orator a degree of inspiration ; must have raised them to a grandeur of thought and diction, not to be expected from colder topics.

ONE circumstance more is worthy of notice, which proved very advantageous to Athens—the calamitous condition of the Ionian states, divided, ravaged, and oppressed. Ionia, from the softness of its climate, appeared to have been designed by nature for a nursery of the arts and sciences. Its  
air

air was of the happiest temperature, mild and serene; and all the treasures of the year clothed its blooming fields. The cast of its inhabitants was refined, their imagination lively, their reach of thought uncommon; so that on this shore, and on the isles adjacent, a greater number of accomplished persons had their birth, than on any other district of the same extent throughout the world. Here, in early days, was Homer born. Cumæ was the country of Hesiod. And in later ages, Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Ion, Hecataeus, Theopompus, Herodotus, Pythagoras, Bias, Thales, Anaxagoras, all great names, with many others, poets, historians, philosophers, were natives of this lovely region. But Ionia soon lost her liberties. First a number of petty tyrants, and then Cræsus invaded it. From the Lydian bondage it passed into the Persian, and was made to groan under the arbitrary sway and cruel exactions of the Satraps of Asia the Less. At the time we now speak of, under Darius Hystaspis, the distresses of Ionia had encreased, and its most flourishing states were given up to slavery and devastation. The muses have been always noted for taking their flight from the abode of servitude and oppression to the land of liberty: and Athens saw itself enriched with the most valuable spoils of the Asiatic coasts, its arts and manners, its philosophers and poets.

WE pass on now to the invasion of Greece by the Persians, an event which took place twenty years after the expulsion of Hippias from Athens. To trace the causes of this invasion, it will be necessary previously to recount certain particulars of the Persian and Ionian history.

CYRUS the great, the founder of the Persian monarchy, was the father of his people, having established a mighty empire not less by the excellence

**B o o k** lence of his virtues, than by the terror of his

**V.** arms. His successor Cambyfes inherited his

**Sect. 1.** father's crown, without being heir to his virtues;

**Bef. Christ** a weak, rash, vicious prince, a curse to his own

536.

family, and the scourge of those he reigned over, till a violent death freed the earth from this

**Bef. Christ** monster. The throne was then usurped by

529.

Smerdis (or Oropastes, as Justin calls him) who found means to personate the king's brother, slain

**Bef. Christ** by the orders of Cambyfes. This imposture being

522.

soon discovered, seven Persian noblemen of the first rank conspired against the usurper, and slew him. No prince of the race of Cyrus now re-

mained. It was therefore agreed on by the noble persons who had vindicated the honour of their

country, that on a stated day their horses should be led forth to a certain place, and he whose

horse should first neigh after the rising of the sun (the great divinity of the Persians) should be saluted

king. By the contrivance of a groom the omen declared in favour of Darius the son of Hystaspes,

and he was accordingly placed on the throne of Cyrus.

**Bef. Christ** **AFTER** this prince had reigned many years

512.

prosperously, he determined, on some frivolous pretence, to make war upon the Scythians, who

dwelt along the banks of the Danube. They were a nation, of whom antient history makes

the most honourable mention; in their manners simple, upright, reproachless; occupied entirely

in the culture of their flocks, in which their whole wealth consisted; without cities or fixed habita-

tions, they ranged from place to place, as the fairness of the pasturage invited them. Enured

by this method of life to the roughest toils and the severest inclemencies of the seasons, they

exceeded all the nations around them in boldness and vigor. Against a people such as this, poor

were



were the triumphs to be expected. Nevertheless **BOOK**  
Darius assembled a numerous army, and having **V.**  
subdued the Thracians, and thrown a bridge across the **Sect. 1.**  
Danube, he passed over into the Scythian borders.  
Nothing but a wild waste of country lay before  
him ; for the Sythians had removed their families  
and flocks into the more northern parts. Ex-  
pecting however to force them to submission,  
Darius committed the bridge to the care of the  
Ionians who attended him in the expedition, re-  
quiring of them that they should wait for him  
forty days, within which space if he did not re-  
turn, they were discharged from their station ;  
and then, secure of victory, he marched in quest  
of the Scythians. They soon appeared, and  
seeming to flee before him, led him far away from  
the banks of the Danube, till at length the  
Persians found themselves in the midst of an in-  
hospitable desert, exposed to all the extremities of  
want, and to the resentment of a brave exasperated  
people. Darius now saw the vanity of his hopes.  
A speedy retreat seemed his only resource ; but  
difficulties multiplied against him. The poor  
produce of this uncultivated soil had been con-  
sumed by his own forces : the roads, bad in them-  
selves, had been rendered impassable by the natives.  
He was in the midst of enemies preparing to at-  
tack him ; and the king of the Scythians, In-  
dathyrus, had sent a message that filled the whole  
army with terror. A Scythian presented to Darius,  
in the name of his sovereign, a bird, a mouse, a  
frog, and five arrows. The Scythians, it seems,  
had their emblematical language as well as the  
politer nations ; and the meaning of this signifi-  
cative message was soon explained to be, that  
except the Persians could take flight like the bird,  
or hide them in the earth like the mouse, or  
conceal

**B O O K** conceal themselves under water like the frog, they  
 V. never should escape the Scythian arrows.

**Sect. 1.** DURING these transactions, the appointed days elapsed, and the Ionians began to despair of the Persian monarch's return. Among those chiefs was Miltiades, son to Cimon, a nobleman of Athens. His uncle, who was also called Miltiades, being chosen by the Thracian Dolonces for their leader, had passed over to the Chersonesus, where he died, leaving his principality to Stesagoras, the elder brother of this Miltiades, by whose death Miltiades was become prince. He was extremely earnest, that the Ionians should break down the bridge, and leave Darius and his army to the vengeance of the Scythians. 'By this stroke,' said he, 'the liberties of Ionia will be restored, 'and Persia completely humbled.' A message also arrived from the Scythians, pressing the Ionians to depart, with a promise that they would put a final period to the ambitious projects of the Persian. But Histæus, tyrant of Miletus, saved the king. He represented to the sovereigns of the other Ionian states, 'that their power depended on that of Darius; and that, the dread 'of Persia once removed, all the Grecian cities 'of Asia would vindicate their ancient rights, 'and expel them.' In an assembly of tyrants, such an argument could not but have its weight. It was carried therefore against the opinion of Miltiades, that they should keep their station, and secure a retreat to Darius. However, to amuse the Scythians, they feigned to depart, and actually withdrew those ships that were nearest the Scythian territory; but the rest of the bridge they left entire, there determining to remain, till they should receive some tidings of the Persian army. After some days, Darius arrived on the banks of the Danube, having luckily escaped an ambuscade

ambuscade of the Scythians, who waited to intercept him. It was night, when he arrived there; and finding the bridge broken, he concluded the Ionians were departed, and began to lose all hope of seeing Persia more. In this distress, he commanded a person in his army, remarkable for his strength of voice, to call aloud on Histæus the Milelian. Histæus heard the call. The bridge was made up; and Darius with his forces passed over.

THE king was not long ignorant of the singular obligation he owed to the prince of Miletus, whom he offered to reward with whatsoever he should desire. Histæus contented himself with asking leave to build a city on the river Strymon in Thrace, a favour which Darius readily granted. But afterwards, listening to the malicious insinuations of the governor of Thrace, who pretended to fear certain dangerous consequences from this establishment, he prevailed on Histæus to accompany him to Susa, where, under the shew of doing him honour, he detained him, without suffering him to return to his native country. So that a splendid slavery was all the recompence Histæus had for his fidelity to Darius. Neither was this the whole of his ill fortune. He had left his nephew Aristagoras his lieutenant in Miletus. Soon after his departure to Susa, Aristagoras formed a design against the people of Naxos, and applied to Artaphernes, governor of Asia the Less, and brother to Darius, for assistance, engaging to subject not only Naxos, but all the islands of the Egean sea, and even Eubœa itself, to the Persian power. Artaphernes communicated the plan to Darius, and having obtained his approbation, sent a fleet of two hundred ships under the command of Megabates, with directions that he should receive his instructions from Aristagoras.

But



**BOOK** But the haughty Persian, esteeming it an indignity  
 V. to obey the orders of a Greek, betrayed the whole  
 Sect. 1. design to the Naxians, who having prepared  
 vigorously for their defence, obliged the enemy  
 to raise the siege. The miscarriage was neverthe-  
 less imputed to the Milesian governor, and he was  
 required to make good the expences of the expe-  
 dition.

**THIS** small spark lighted up the flames of war  
 throughout all Ionia. For Aristagoras, guided  
 by his resentments, and fearing the loss of his  
 government, if not of his life, formed the reso-  
 lution of throwing off the Persian yoke. Whilst  
 he was thus meditating revenge, a messenger ar-  
 rived from Histæus, commanding him to revolt  
 against the Persians. He is supposed to have  
 urged his nephew to this measure with the intent,  
 that he himself, under pretence of reducing the  
 rebels, might have an opportunity of returning  
 home. However that may be, the message deter-  
 mined Aristagoras. His first step was to lay down  
 the sovereignty at Miletus: then taking a progress  
 through all the Ionian states, he compelled the  
 several tyrants to divest themselves of their au-  
 thority. Liberty alone, he believed, could in-  
 spire the Ionians at this trying juncture. This  
 done, he passed over to Sparta, where, as we have  
 related, his suit was rejected by Cleomenes.  
 With the Athenians he had better success: their  
 detestation of tyrants made them heedless of all  
 the consequences with which this war might be  
 attended. Aristagoras would probably have found  
 an active friend, at the beginning of the Ionian  
 troubles, in Miltiades, who hated the Persian  
 yoke, and had no reason to expect much favour  
 of Darius: but this chief had been obliged to  
 quit the Chersonesus, at first by an incursion of the  
 Scythians, who in hatred of the Persians ravaged

Thrace, and then, after a three years enjoyment **Book**  
 of his sovereignty, by the terror of a Phœnician **V.**  
 squadron in the service of Darius, whom he ex-**Sect. 1.**  
 pected to invade him from Tenedos. Putting all  
 his wealth therefore on board five ships, Miltiades  
 had lately withdrawn himself to Athens.

As soon as the confederate fleets of Ionia and **Bef. Christ**  
 Athens were in readiness, they sailed to Eplufus, **500.**  
 together with five ships of war furnished by the  
 Eretrians. Here the forces landed, and marching  
 directly to Sardis, before the Persians could have  
 time to be informed of their destination, they took  
 the city by surprise, so that Artaphernes with much  
 difficulty saved himself in the citadel. The houses  
 of the Sardians were mostly built of cane: an  
 Athenian soldier in the attack threw a lighted  
 torch on one of them, in consequence of which  
 the whole city was presently in a blaze, and con-  
 sumed entirely. This outrage Darius bore so impa-  
 tiently, that he solemnly vowed to take signal  
 vengeance on the people of Athens. To remind  
 him of the transaction, it stands on record, that  
 an officer was appointed specially, who should  
 thrice every day repeat to him these words,  
 ‘ O king, remember the Athenians !’ After the  
 destruction of the Lydian capital, the confederates,  
 alarmed at the approach of the Persians, who  
 were now assembled in force against them, re-  
 treated in haste to Ephesus, where they were at-  
 tacked by the Persian army, and defeated with  
 great slaughter. From that time, the Athenians  
 fell off from the Ionian league. Some authors  
 think the late ill success was the occasion of this  
 defection; but it was owing more probably to the  
 divisions they observed in the councils of the Ionian  
 confederates.

BOOK A SHORT gleam of success, even after this

V. defeat, continued to encourage the Ionians, especially as they still maintained a superiority at sea.

Sect. 1. But in the sixth year of the war, the Persians  
Bef. Christ 497.

having got together a considerable fleet under the command of Otanes and Artaphernes, it was resolved to attempt Miletus, the chief city of the Ionian confederacy: and the Ionians, perceiving their intention, assembled their whole maritime force for its defence, to the number of three hundred and fifty three ships. This formidable navy the Persians soon found means to weaken, by drawing off several of the allied powers; so that, when the engagement took place, the Ionians had scarcely more than one hundred ships, and

Bef. Christ 496.

afforded the Persians an easy victory. The loss of Miletus was the consequence, which the Persians, to signalize their vengeance for the burning of Sardis, laid in ruins, condemning all the inhabitants to servitude. The other revolted cities of Ionia were treated with the like severity, their temples consumed, and the choicest of their young men and maidens sent slaves to Susa. Such was the fate of a people, who appear to have perished, because they engaged in the glorious cause of liberty, without having virtue sufficient to bear them through it.

HISTIAEUS, the chief occasion of the war, was, as we have said, at Susa, when it broke out. Nevertheless Darius suspected his connection with the malcontents, and charged him with it. The artful Ionian answered the king with the most solemn professions of fealty and attachment, offering to bring all the Ionians back to their allegiance, if he might be permitted to go among them. The king was persuaded, and Histiaeus came to Sardis, where he thought he might easily carry on a correspondence with the confederates; but finding his



his intrigues discovered by Artaphernes, he went B o o k  
over to some of the Grecian islands, and being V.  
taken in the course of the war, was hanged by Sect. 1.  
command of Artaphernes, and his head sent to  
Darius. It is said, the Satrap was apprehensive  
lest the king should feel his tenderness revive for  
Histiaëus, and on that account he hastened the  
execution of this dangerous rebel. And accord-  
ingly we are told, that when his head was brought  
to Susa, Darius wept over it. History speaks him a  
subtle statesman, who sacrificed his country to his  
private views, and received the punishment justly  
due to his ambitious, interested counsels. As for  
Aristagoras, when he saw the affairs of Ionia in a  
declining state, he with a party of Milesians made  
his way into Thrace, in hopes to secure a place  
of refuge, and there he was slain.

THE reduction of Ionia, as might justly have Bef. Christ  
been expected, was the signal for attacking the 493.  
Athenians. But the Persian monarch was not to  
be satisfied with retaliating on the particular people  
who presumed to oppose him in Asia: the entire  
country of Greece must become a province of his  
empire. For this purpose he sent ambassadors  
into that country, to summon all its inhabitants  
to acknowledge the Persian power, by sending  
him *earth and water*, the usual form of submission  
observed in the East. The Persians were well  
received by many of the Grecian states, particu-  
larly at Ægina, which, as we have mentioned,  
afforded Cleomenes a pretence for invading that  
island. But at Sparta and Athens these embassa-  
dors were treated with remarkable indignity: they  
were thrown, one into a *ditch*, and the other into  
a *well*, and bid to carry to their master the earth  
and water he required. This insult, an infraction  
certainly of the law of nations, greatly heightened

BOOK the resentment of Darius, who immediately ordered Mardonius to march into Greece. The Sect. 1. choice he made of this general was due to favour, not to merit: he was a vain young man, unacquainted with the business of arms; but his riches and noble birth, together with his affinity to the king, whose daughter he had received in marriage, obtained him this distinction. It soon appeared, how little such advantages avail in the field of war: for as he was on the confines of Macedon, encamping in full security, a party of Thracians attacked him in the night, plundered his camp, and wounded the general himself. About the same time the Persian fleet, in sailing round the point of mount Athos, encountered a storm, in which three hundred ships and above twenty thousand men perished. These disasters obliged Mardonius to retreat; and Darius, convinced of his incapacity, appointed Datis and Artaphernes generals in his stead.

Ref. Christ

491.

THE two commanders set out from Asia with a fleet of six hundred ships, and an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men. With this force they subdued most of the islands of the Egean sea, and made themselves of Eretria, in the island Eubœa, after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of some of its inhabitants. We have observed, that this unhappy people had engaged in the Ionian confederacy: the Persians therefore resolved to make their punishment exemplary. They were given up to the rage of the licentious soldiery; their city was reduced to ashes, and as many of the inhabitants as the sword spared, were sentenced to perpetual bondage. The Athenians had endeavoured to assist them, but finding that the city was betrayed, had retired.

THE

THE Persians then proceeded to spread them-  
selves into Attica; and Hippias, who led the way  
to the ravagers of his country, conducted them  
into the fields of Marathon. Neither the multi-  
tude of the enemy, nor the fate of Eretria, dis-  
mayed the Athenians: firm in the cause of liber-  
ty, they saw undaunted this numerous host come  
against them. They had already solicited assistance  
from the neighbouring states: but the terror of  
the Persian arms had possessed them all, except the  
Spartans, and those of the little city of Plateæ.—  
The Spartans, however, had deferred their march,  
on account of an ancient superstition, which for-  
bad to enter on any expedition till after the full  
moon: so that of all the nations of Greece the  
Plateans alone shared with the Athenians the dan-  
ger of this glorious war. When they took the  
field, they found their numbers extremely incon-  
siderable; for the Plateans could only furnish a  
thousand men, and the Athenians had no more  
than ten thousand, one thousand out of each tribe.  
These were commanded by ten captains, among  
whom was that Miltiades who had reigned in the  
Thracian Chersonesus \*, and Aristides and The-  
mistocles, at this time both young men. To the  
ten was added Callimachus, the Polemarch of the  
year: for such, says Herodotus, was the custom  
of the Athenians in those days. These officers  
were invested with equal powers, and were to have  
the command, each their day, alternately.

IN the first council of war it was urged, that  
they should provide for the defence of the city of  
Athens; and not hazard an engagement. Miltia-  
des, Aristides, Themistocles, and two other lea-  
ders, warmly maintained the contrary opinion.—  
The casting voice was in the Polemarch, to whom  
Miltiades turning, ‘ You have it now in your

\* See page 284.



BOOK 'option,' said he to him, 'to save your country

V. 'from ruin and slavery; and the vote, which you

Sect. 1. 'are this day to give, may render your name

'more illustrious than those of Harmodius and

'Aristogiton.' Moved by these words, the Po-

lemarch concurred with Miltiades, and this gal-

lant band marched on to meet the Persians. Aris-

tides, aware of the inconvenience attending the

arrangement we have just mentioned, which gave

the power alternately to the captains, proposed that

they should all resign their turns in favour of Mil-

tiades. The proposal was cheerfully agreed to:

yet Miltiades deferred engaging, till he was com-

mander in his own right. In the mean time, he

endeavoured to add to the strength of his small ar-

my, by choosing advantageous ground at the foot

of a mountain where they could not be surround-

ed, and by flanking them with large trees, prop-

erly disposed to keep off the Persian horse.

At last the important day arrived, and the

Athenians drew out to battle. Datis beheld with

contempt this handful of men, and hastened to fall

on them, well pleased with the opportunity of cut-

ting them off, before the Spartans were come to

their assistance. Little did the Persian know,

what they could achieve who were prepared to

abide every extremity, rather than to live without

liberty. Instantly, as the signal was given, the

Athenian wings rushed impetuous on the enemy,

and broke through the Persian battalia, sword in

hand. The violence of the shock began the con-

fusion of the Persians, who pent up in too narrow

a space, were much incommoded by their own

multitudes. The two wings soon made their way

through the lines of the enemy, and meeting to-

gether returned to the assistance of the Athenian

center, where the greatest pressure was: for Mil-

tiades had drawn off the flower of the army to the

wings;

wings ; so that Aristides and Themistocles, who **Book**  
 commanded in this part, with much difficulty **V.**  
 maintained their ground against the vast weight **Sect. 1.**  
 of the opposite numbers. But the success of the  
 wings determined the fate of the battle. The  
 enemy, seeing the Athenians bear down all before  
 them, fled with the utmost precipitation, and  
 were pursued to their ships by the brave Atheni-  
 ans, who boarding those that were nearest the  
 shore, took seven vessels. Upwards of six thou-  
 sand Persians, according to Herodotus, fell in  
 the engagement, and among them the unworthy  
 Hippias ; of the Athenians, only one hundred  
 ninety-two.

SUCH was the issue of that memorable day of  
 Marathon, on which was won one of the most signal  
 victories that history has recorded ; eleven thou-  
 sand men putting to flight an army of more than  
 one hundred thousand, and those too not despic-  
 able soldiers, but such as were flushed with their  
 late victories over the Grecian islanders and those  
 of Eretria. But as we have before observed,  
 every Athenian on this occasion fought for him-  
 self ; every Athenian was personally concerned in  
 the fortune of this important day—he fought for  
 the temples of his gods, for the sepulchres of his  
 fathers, for all that the habitudes of domestic life  
 can render dear ; he fought for laws and liberties,  
 such as no change of government could restore to  
 him ; and if he did not conquer, death, or slavery  
 worse than death, lay before him. Accordingly  
 historians tell us, that although the disposition  
 and conduct of the battle was the merit of Milti-  
 ades, yet was it difficult to say, to which of the  
 Athenians the first praise was due for steadiness of  
 courage and bold achievements. It was an army  
 of heroes, and they all wrought wonderful things.  
 Justin relates an instance of that courage, which  
 appears

BOOK appears scarcely credible. Cynegyros\*, an officer  
 V. in the Athenian army, after many extraordinary  
 Sect. I. feats, pursued the Persians to the shore, and with  
 his right hand laid hold on one of their ships. His  
 hand was struck off. With the other he seized on  
 it again; which being struck off in like manner,  
 he held the vessel with his teeth, till his firmness  
 and his life forsook him together. Herodotus also  
 makes mention of him, with some little variation  
 in the circumstances: he tells us, that Cynegyros  
 fixed his hand on the prow of a Persian vessel, and  
 resolutely kept his hold, until, his hand being  
 struck off with an ax, he fell. But there is ano-  
 ther instance of the unconquered spirit of the  
 Athenians, which seems yet more amazing. A  
 certain Athenian soldier, the instant he saw the  
 Persians were defeated, detached himself from the  
 army, and ran towards Athens. The brave man  
 had already had his share in all the fatigues of the  
 late action; and from Marathon to Athens it was  
 ten long miles. Nevertheless, full of the glorious  
 tidings, on he went till he entered the city, and  
 reached the house of the chief magistrate, when,  
 just fainting, he retained only strength enough to  
 utter two words, *Jo, victory!* and dropped down  
 dead.

WHAT followed after the battle shews, that the  
 same ardour inspired them all. As soon as the  
 Persians were embarked, they bore away towards  
 Athens. Miltiades judged what their design was:  
 leaving therefore Aristides with his tribe to guard  
 the spoil, he marched on with the rest of the army  
 to save the capital. Scarcely had the Athenians  
 any horse, their whole strength of cavalry in the  
 late battle having only amounted to one hundred  
 horsemen; yet such was the alacrity of their spirit,  
 when the dangers of their country called on them,

\* Brother to the tragic poet Æschylus.



that after the toils of such a day as that of Marath<sup>on</sup> must have been, they notwithstanding arrived there before the setting of the sun. When the Persians saw that Miltiades had prevented them, not daring to tempt a second engagement, they failed off to Asia. B o o k V. Sect. 1.

It is easy to form a judgment, how great must have been the exultations of a people, who held liberty so precious, and who saw themselves and their children rescued from bondage. Next to thanksgiving to the gods, their first care was to do honour to the memory of those brave men who had fallen in defence of their country. The finest geniuses of Athens were employed to rehearse their praises. Noble monuments were raised to them on the field of battle, inscribed with panegyric verse, together with the names of each individual and of his tribe. And lest the Athenians should seem to usurp the share of fame that belonged to others, the Plateans also, and even the slaves, who fell, had distinct monuments with suitable inscriptions erected to them. Neither were they forgotten, who returned victorious. The Plateans, and their children for ever, were all admitted to the rank of Athenian denizens. The like honour was conferred on the slaves, who had in so signal a manner approved their faith at the time of peril. As for the Athenian soldiers, an exquisite painting was executed to their honour by the hand of Polygnotus, in which they were represented, and at their head Miltiades leading them on to victory. This curious piece, set up in one of the public galleries, was the only recompense Athens bestowed on her citizens: it was esteemed a reward sufficiently noble, that they should have the glory of saving their country.

**BOOK** A READER of feeling will learn with regret, V. that the man who saved Athens had soon occasion Sect. 1. to lament her ingratitude. The ill success of an expedition, which Miltiades persuaded his countrymen to undertake, proved his ruin. He had obtained a fleet of seventy ships, in order to reduce all those islands of the Egean sea which had declared for the Persians; but having failed before Paros, he was accused of treasonable practices, and fined fifty talents, which not being able to pay, he was thrown into prison, and died there of a wound received in the expedition. It is much easier to account for, than to justify this ill requital of the services of Miltiades. It was believed, that in the war with Persia he sought to revenge his own private wrongs with more keenness, than to serve the commonwealth. His victory at Marathon had made him the first man of Greece, almost too great for a government where all persons were to be equal. It was also but too well remembered, that he had known the possession of sovereign power. All these considerations united could scarcely fail of rendering him obnoxious, especially in a state where even eminent virtue was esteemed dangerous to liberty.

HOWEVER, amidst the ruins of his public fortune, Miltiades had the consolation of enjoying the highest of domestic blessings. He had a son, named Cimon. The young man had been accustomed to splendor and distinction: his mother was the daughter of a king; he himself was born to the hopes of sovereignty; and even after his family had retired to Athens, there was not a station in the commonwealth that was beyond his prospect. Nevertheless, when disgrace had overtaken his father, it became the whole pride of this young man to observe him in all his distress: he accompanied him to prison, he shared the horrors  
of

of confinement with him, and industriously studi- B o o k  
 ed to soften the rigor of his sufferings by an un- V.  
 wearied tenderness and a visible encrease of affec- Sect. 1.  
 tion. In some time Miltiades died. It was the  
 law at Athens, that persons imprisoned for a debt  
 to the public, and dying in custody, should be  
 refused the rites of sepulture 'till payment was  
 made. Here Cymon's filial piety shewed itself  
 again. He besought that he might be admitted to  
 redeem his dead father's body at the expence of  
 his own liberty, and continued in prison, 'till by  
 disposing of the little fortune he had, and by the  
 assistance of friends, he was enabled to discharge  
 the mulct. Virtue like this was not permitted by  
 heaven to go without its reward: we shall soon see  
 the son of Miltiades become the stay and the orna-  
 ment of his country.

LET us return to Darius. With the utmost in-  
 dignation he received the news of the battle of  
 Marathon, and determined without loss of time to  
 vindicate the Persian name by marching in person  
 into Greece. Orders were accordingly dispatch- Ref. Christ  
 ed through all the provinces of the empire, that 487.  
 his subjects and tributaries should be in readiness  
 to attend him. In the mean time Egypt revolting,  
 he saw himself engaged in a double war, for  
 which he began to provide with great vigor. But  
 in the midst of his preparations death put an end Ref. Christ  
 to the ambitious projects of a monarch, who prob- 485-  
 ably would have appeared to much greater ad-  
 vantage, had he not laboured under the malady  
 common to despotic princes, that of being cor-  
 rupted by excess of power.

AFTER him reigned Xerxes, who did not carry  
 into execution the plan conceived by his father for  
 invading Greece, till ten years after the battle  
 of Marathon; for Xerxes was in the sixth year  
 of



BOOK of his reign, when he marched into Greece, and  
 V. Darius outlived by four years the defeat of Datis  
 Sect. 1. and Artaphernes.

THIS interval was not a time of ease and inactivity to the Athenian people. Besides the expedition against the Grecian islands, they were again engaged in a war against those of Ægina. Within the very walls of Athens also nothing now was to be seen but industry and labour: the whole people was employed in useful arts; the docks were filled with workmen; new ships crowded their ports; the Piræan harbour was opened; and Athens seemed already aspiring to the empire of the deep. It was the genius of Themistocles, that wrought this. He foresaw, that the day of Marathon would only prove the prelude to a second invasion, to a war far bloodier and more hazardous; and therefore he studied to encrease the naval strength of Athens, as the surest means of saving his country. Hence likewise it was, that he endeavoured to revive the former jealousies against the Æginetæ: he knew they were a people expert and formidable at sea; and therefore he wisely judged, that this war would distress the Athenians, and oblige them to turn their thoughts to maritime affairs. The event answered his expectation; for the Athenians found themselves under the necessity of applying to the building of ships those public revenues, which arose from the silver mines of Laurium, and which it had hitherto been usual to divide among the people. To the same purpose, Plato takes notice, that by his contrivance messengers arrived from Asia, on the heels one of another, with repeated accounts of the mighty preparations the Persians were making against Greece. By these means Themistocles disciplined the minds of his countrymen: the people had the terrors of war continually besetting them,  
 and

and were exercised daily in intrepidity of soul, con-tempt of danger, and in the practice of arms. V.

THIS great statesman, who was thus instrumental to the safety and splendor of Athens by advancing her to naval power, found a warm opponent to all his measures in Aristides, who entertained great suspicions of the popularity and influence of Themistocles. And since we shall have frequent occasion to speak of the actions of these two eminent persons, it will be useful here to introduce them to the reader by a more particular detail of their characters. Sect. 1.

THEMISTOCLES was an Athenian not very considerable either by his extraction or his riches : but his abilities of nature supplied the place of both. Of the most extensive genius, he joined to the spirit and boldness of the foldier the coolness and foresight of the most consummate politician. His thirst of glory was excessive : it appeared from his earliest years, in his manners, in his studies ; and was the leading feature in his character through life. It was observed of him after the battle of Marathon, that his countenance amidst the general joy was heavy and drooping ; at which time, to his friends enquiring the reason of the change, he made answer, ‘ The trophies of Miltiades will not suffer me to rest ! ’ Thenceforward he dedicated himself entirely to the service of his country, the troubles that followed supplying ample scope for the exercise of his talents. We have seen, what pains he took to advance the naval greatness of Athens. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Themistocles was the soul of the Grecian councils ; and it were doing him high injustice not to allow, that the glorious victory at Salamis was the fruit of his wisdom and courage. In battle, he was a cool, provident commander ; though when danger pressed, none more bold or enterprising ;

**B o o** k enterprising ; in debate, he was an excellent  
 V. adviser, of admirable sagacity in judging of future  
 Sect. I. events. But with all these eminent qualities, he  
 had his faults also : he had a spirit jealous and  
 ambitious, and was possessed with an immoderate  
 desire of honours and distinctions. For this pur-  
 pose, he courted popular applause, even at the  
 expence of virtue ; he amassed wealth by unjusti-  
 fiable means, that he might squander it in magni-  
 ficence and pompous donatives ; and even on the  
 tribunal of justice, his friends were ever sure to  
 find him a partial and favourable judge.

VERY different was the turn of mind that  
 distinguished Aristides. Without having the parts  
 which nature had given to Themistocles, he had  
 as much courage, and infinitely more probity and  
 intrinsic virtue. Though in circumstances far  
 from affluent, he retained a serene easy mind,  
 disdaining to acquire riches at the price either of  
 integrity or independence. He felt an equal in-  
 difference for honours ; content with deserving,  
 he courted them not ; and whether in office or  
 disgrace, he was never observed to be either elated  
 or depressed. In the observation of justice, both  
 as a private person, and as the minister of the  
 laws, he was remarkably strict and blameless,  
 neither fear nor favour ever inducing him to  
 swerve from the right : so that, on account of his  
 un sullied probity, he was honoured with the title  
 of **THE JUST ARISTIDES**, a title, says  
 Plutarch, far more glorious than those sounding  
 ones of *Conqueror of nations*, and *Taker of cities*,  
 which swell the arrogance of the tyrants and  
 ravagers of mankind. He thought the govern-  
 ment of the people too boisterous and licentious ;  
 and therefore, at least in his earlier days, he  
 espoused the interest of the nobility : a principle,  
 which probably led him to oppose Themistocles in  
 his



his plan for giving to Athens a naval importance, B o o k because, as Plutarch remarks justly, power at sea V. imparts life and strength to popular government. Sect. 1. In war also he was great, as well as in peace: he had fought with glory at Marathon, and he distinguished himself again on other occasions not less important and hazardous. Such a man could not but be dear at Athens. Even the people revered his virtues: and so high was the general opinion concerning him, that a poet having in a certain play said of one of the antient chieftains of Greece, ‘He would rather be virtuous, than appear so,’ the whole audience did honour to Aristides, by applying the glorious eulogy to him. And yet this very excellence of virtue did Themistocles lay hold of, as a ground-work for supplanting this just man. At Athens, we have apprised the reader, extraordinary worth was a kind of *treason*. On this principle, it was no difficult matter for Themistocles to persuade the people, that the justice of Aristides rendered him dangerous, and that a man held in such reverence might easily invade the sovereign power. The jealous Athenians listened to the insinuation, and Aristides was banished by the sentence of ostracism. There happened a circumstance on this occasion, which places in a strong light the frenzy of the misguided populace. Whilst the people were giving their votes, an ignorant boor, inhabitant of one of the Athenian boroughs, not acquainted with the person of Aristides, came up to him, and desired that he would write Aristides on his shell. ‘Why,’ answered this excellent Athenian, ‘did Aristides ever injure you?’ ‘Me? no, not in the least,’ resumed the other; ‘I do not even know the man: but it galls me to hear him always called THE JUST Aristides.’—Aristides, without further reply, took

BOOK took the shell, and wrote down his own name.—

V. In the same temper of mind he departed out of  
Sect. 1. Athens ; and the last words he was heard to utter  
were a prayer for the prosperity of his country—  
‘ that the day might never come, when the  
‘ Athenians should be forced to remember  
‘ Aristides.’ That day however was not far off,  
and he returned to expose his life in defence of  
those who had doomed him to banishment. We  
shall presently see him tried in many hard instances,  
and almost in every one of them the same calm,  
upright, brave man. We shall see him unmoved  
from his faith to his country even by the ingrati-  
tude of his fellow citizens, knowing neither friends  
nor enemies but those who were such to the public  
weal, and repaying even the person, who had  
persecuted him most, with kind and generous  
offices.

## B O O K V.

## SECTION II.

THE two first years of the reign of Xerxes were employed in reducing the Egyptians, who had revolted. As soon as this expedition was at an end, he prepared to invade Greece, with firm purpose to execute his utmost vengeance on the Spartan and Athenian people. The manner in which the messengers of Darius had been treated by those two Grecian states, the burning of Sardis, the victory at Marathon, were deep in the remembrance of Persia. The princes that remained of the house of Pisistratus solicited, without ceasing, against their country; and the poet Onomacritus, who had followed the fortunes of that wretched family, pretended certain oracles that foreboded ruin to Greece, with glory and conquest to the Persians. Mardonius likewise, who burned with desire of revenging his former ill success,

Book  
V.  
Sect. 2.  
Bef. Christ  
484.



**BOOK** success, and had a view to the government of  
 V. Greece, earnestly urged on the war. He had the  
 Sect. 2. ear of Xerxes, and the insinuating arts and proud  
 boastings of this favourite wrought but too  
 Ref. Christ effectually on the mind of his vain master. Ac-  
 481. cordingly orders were issued, that every nation  
 and language throughout the dominions of the  
 Great King should attend him at Sardis; and the  
 whole Persian empire was called forth to arms  
 against a people, neither in number, nor in extent  
 of territory, to be compared with one of the  
 smallest of its provinces.

INTELLIGENCE of these formidable preparations arrived early in Greece. Demaratus, late king of Sparta, after his undeserved expulsion from his throne and country, had retired, as before mentioned, to Susa, and was now at that court. Grievous as his wrongs had been, all his affection for the land that gave him birth revived within him at this interesting juncture, and he dispatched a messenger to Sparta with notice of the intended invasion. Historians mention the subtle method he contrived to conceal the purport of the message. The custom of those days was, to write on waxed tablets. One of these tablets Demaratus sent, but no writing appeared on it. In vain had the senate endeavoured to unfold the dark riddle, when Gorgo, wife to king Leonidas, a woman of uncommon penetration as well as eminent virtue, observed that the writing must be hid under the wax. Trial being made according to her advice, letters were found cut in the board, which gave the Spartans warning of their menaced destruction. They immediately communicated to the Athenians the account they had received, and began to provide for their defence.

THE Athenians were not less active : the wise B o o k  
 counsels of Themistocles had already taught them V.  
 to expect the enemy ; and as we have noted just Sect. 2.  
 now, ever since their victory at Marathon had  
 they been equipping their fleets, and disciplining  
 their forces. The council of the Amphictyons  
 was convoked, to deliberate concerning the com-  
 mon safety. A solemn deputation was sent to take  
 advice of the Delphic oracle. And to all the  
 states around, even to Gelo king of Syracuse,  
 application was made for assistance.

THE event of these several measures was vari-  
 ous, according to the situation of the parties.  
 Gelo, though a prince mighty and opulent, had  
 it not in his power to give aid against Xerxes,  
 who had made an alliance with the Carthaginians,  
 in consequence of which the latter were to attack  
 the Grecian colonies in Sicily, at the same time  
 that the Persians entered Greece. The Amphictyonic  
 council indeed promised well. The several states,  
 there convened, bound themselves by the most  
 sacred oaths ' to abide all the distresses of war, and  
 ' to yield up their territories to utter devastation,  
 ' rather than to join in league with Xerxes.' We  
 shall see presently, how imperfectly these glorious  
 resolutions were made good. As for the Delphic  
 god, his answers were dreadful, Attica was doomed  
 to desolation ; Athens was to be overthrown ;  
 and her unhappy sons were commanded to flee  
 away to the farthest regions of the earth. Of  
 the same kind were the responses to all the nations  
 of Greece that came to consult at Delphi on this  
 occasion, menacing and full of terror ; and some  
 of them were even forbidden to engage in war  
 against the Persians. It is more than probable,  
 that the gold of Xerxes had influenced the spirit  
 of the prophets. Means however were contrived  
 to soften this ill-boding Pythian. The Athenian  
 Vol. I. X deputies

BOOK deputies persisted in soliciting a more propitious

V. answer: and either by their importunities, or rather by the intrigues of Themistocles, an oracle of somewhat less dire import was at length obtained, and safety was promised to the Athenians, provided they had recourse to *walls of wood*. Themistocles was not at a loss to interpret the oracle: these walls of wood, he told them, were their *ships*, to which the god enjoined them to betake themselves, forsaking their city. The Athenians nevertheless were at the first unwilling to submit altogether to this expedient, and it was determined that they should try their strength by land as well as by sea. Two other proposals, made by Themistocles at this time, reflected not less honour on that excellent statesman: the first, that whatever cause of war Athens might have against any of the states of Greece, all resentment should cease immediately, and a firm peace be concluded. By this an end was put to the war against Ægina. The other imported, that all citizens of Athens, who were then in exile, should have leave to return and defend their country. This decree was meant in favour of Aristides. From the moment Athens was in hazard, Themistocles knew no interest but her's; all private regards were absorbed in his concern for the public good.

Before Christ  
480. Six years had Xerxes reigned, four of which he had employed in making ready for war. And now appeared in arms the greatest multitude, that ever was collected together under the banners of a single prince. His land forces amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men: his fleet was composed of twelve hundred and seven ships of three banks of oars, and three thousand smaller vessels, having on board five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men, besides



besides the train of servants and the persons that **B o o k**  
 carried provisions. With this prodigious fleet **V.**  
 was the whole Hellespont covered, while Xerxes **Sect. 2.**  
 at the head of his armies was marching down  
 to Abydus, elate with the prospect of victory, and  
 already enjoying his triumphs over Greece. The  
 princes that attended him were but too industrious  
 in encouraging these fond expectations; for such  
 is the condition of kings, the language of sincerity  
 is seldom spoken to them; and in all the retinue  
 of this lord of millions one person only was there  
 found, who would venture to advise him with  
 unfeigned affection. This was Artabanus, uncle  
 to the king. He had often endeavoured to  
 dissuade him from an enterprize, to which there  
 was no other inducer but ambition. ‘The  
 ‘Grecians,’ said he, ‘are a brave people. They  
 ‘proved it on the day of Marathon: the Athe-  
 ‘nians alone proved it on that fatal day: and  
 ‘who can tell what Greece united may do against  
 ‘you? You pride yourself in the numbers that  
 ‘follow you. But is not the fate of kingdoms  
 ‘weighed in heaven? and may not the sovereign  
 ‘arbiter of events give power and victory to the  
 ‘weakest, and in one moment sink the most  
 ‘flourishing empire to the dust?’ These sage  
 remonstrances availed nothing: they were listened  
 to indeed without resentment; but the poison  
 of evil counsels had taken possession of this un-  
 happy prince.

MEAN while the land forces were preparing to  
 pass over into Europe, a bridge of ships having  
 been laid from the Asiatic side to the Thracian  
 Chersonesus. For seven days, and as many nights,  
 were they moving on without interruption. When  
 Xerxes was arrived on the European coast, all

X 2

BOOK the princes of Thrace, of Macedonia, and the  
 V. neighbouring parts joined him with their forces;  
 Sect. 2. so that his army now consisted of two millions one  
 hundred thousand fighting men.

THE distress and terror of Greece at this inundation of war was encreased by the defection of several of her own states. Xerxes before his departure from Sardis had sent heralds to every Grecian people, the Athenians and Spartans excepted, to demand earth and water, and many of them had submitted. Some of the Thessalians had long since been in the Persian interest, and most of the other nations of Thessaly now declared for Xerxes. Their example was followed by the Locri Ozolæ, and those of mount Cnemis. And the Thebans, with the other inhabitants of Bœotia, all but the Thespians and the valiant Plateans, were suspected of favouring the enemy. In Peloponnesus also there was great disaffection. The people of Argos refused to take concern in a war, the prosperous event of which could only render their domestic situation more wretched, by adding to the power and arrogance of Sparta. They decreed, that none of the nations of Argolis should presume to aid the Lacedæmonians, until this people had resigned all the territories they had usurped. And there is reason to believe, that many other of the Peloponnesians, who had long groaned under the Spartan yoke, rather wished the destruction of that haughty, inhospitable city. Such was the calamitous state of Sparta and Athens; their strength inconsiderable, their allies few and wavering; whilst new supplies were daily crowding in to the Persians.

THE first measure adopted by the confederate Greeks was to send off the Spartan king Leonidas with four thousand men to secure the important  
 pass

pass of Thermopylæ, and to station the fleet at **Book**  
**Artemisium** for the purpose of guarding the **V.**  
**entrance** into the Eubœan streights. They had **Sect. 2.**  
 previously attempted to possess themselves of the  
 passages into Thessaly by mount Olympus, and  
 ten thousand men had been detached thither with  
 that intent: but Alexander king of Macedon,  
 who, though in friendship with the Persians, was  
 well affected to the Athenian people, sent them  
 word, that if they remained in that place, they  
 must inevitably be trampled under foot by the  
 multitudes that were coming against them: In  
 consequence of this intelligence, the Greeks  
 thought it expedient to retire.

THE command of the confederate fleet was  
 given to Eurybiades, a Spartan; a choice ex-  
 tremely remarkable, since the Athenians were  
 now confessed the first maritime power of Greece.  
 But it must be observed, that on this very account  
 most of the confederates envied this brave people.  
 Themistocles therefore, who dreaded nothing  
 more than divided councils, urged his country-  
 men to wave their pretensions, and to esteem any  
 place a place of honour, so that they might have  
 the happiness of saving Greece. The advice of  
 this great patriot prevailed, and Eurybiades, in  
 deference to his country, was appointed admiral.  
 This fleet had been furnished by the Athenians,  
 Lacedemonians, Corinthians, Træzenians, Epi-  
 daurians, Sicyonians, Megareans, the people of  
 Eubœa, the Locri of Opus, and the Chians;  
 and it consisted of two hundred seventy one ships,  
 of which the Athenians had fitted out one hundred  
 and forty seven, and the Lacedemonians only  
 ten.

THE king of Persia continued his march  
 through Thessaly, his wide-spreading host consum-  
 ing all the provisions of the country, and drying up  
 whole



BOOK whole rivers, as they passed. At the same time,

V. his fleets had extended themselves along the  
Sect. 2. Thessalian coast : he had caused a canal to be cut  
at the foot of mount Athos, and through this  
new passage the Persians had made their way to  
the Thermaic gulph, and were now holding on  
their course towards Eubœa. When Eurybiades  
had intelligence, that this formidable navy was  
advancing against him, and that the vessels he had  
stationed for observation at the island of Sciathus  
had either fled or fallen into the hands of the  
enemy, he sailed away from Artemisium to  
Chalcis. But heaven watched over Greece. A  
violent storm arose, by which the Persians, inca-  
pable from their numbers to work their vessels, or  
find harbours sufficiently capacious, were driven  
on the promontories and shallows of Magnesia,  
where four hundred of their ships were lost, with  
the greatest part of their crews. The confederates,  
on receiving these tidings, returned to Artemisium :  
the Persians also in some time resumed their  
courage, and moved on southward. As the  
enemy approached, the spirit of the Grecian  
admiral again forsook him, and he would certainly  
have abandoned the Eubœan coast, had not the  
earnest entreaties of Themistocles, together with  
a seasonable bribe of three talents from the  
Eubœans, prevailed on him to abide there, and  
defend the Euripus.

THE Persians were now preparing to destroy  
these presuming Greeks, for such they appeared in  
their eyes, and confident of victory, had even  
sent two hundred ships round Eubœa to intercept  
them in their flight. They had also proposed  
large rewards to those who should bring in any of  
the Athenian ships ; for these they held in esteem  
above all the rest of the confederate fleet. But  
their vaunting expectations were soon frustrated.

In the first engagement, the Persians lost thirty B o o k ships, and would probably have suffered much V. more, had not the coming on of night put an end Sect. 2. to the contest. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this success was chiefly due to the conduct and valour of Themistocles and his gallant countrymen.

THE night that followed was a night of much horror to the Persians ; their men dismayed, their fleet broken and dispersed : and in the midst of this distress, they were surprised by a second storm far more violent than the first, accompanied with impetuous rains and dreadful thunders. In this storm the two hundred ships, that had been ordered to sail round the island, were all lost. These repeated calamities sunk the hopes of the haughty enemy ; whilst on the other hand the confederates, having received a reinforcement of fifty three Athenian ships, pursued the *barbarians* (as the Grecian writers affect to style them) even to Aphetæ, and destroyed a considerable squadron belonging to the Cilicians. Moved by this insult, and dreading the indignation of Xerxes, the Persian commanders determined at all hazards once more to attempt the Eubœan freights : forming their fleet therefore in such a manner as to enclose the Grecians, they sailed forth towards Artemisium. Neither were the confederates fearful of the issue. So that now followed a bloody and obstinate engagement ; the Persians, animated by the shame of their late ill success, exerting their whole strength to open themselves a passage into the Euripus, and the Grecians likewise summoning forth their utmost vigour, and earnestly encouraging one another to defend their common country. At length Greece prevailed ; and the Persians, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, were compelled to retire. But the  
glory

BOOK glory of this day was soon converted into terror  
 V. and lamentation. An express arrived with an  
 Sect. 2. account, that Leonidas and those with him were  
 slain at Thermopylæ, and that Xerxes had forced  
 his way into Phocis.

LEONIDAS, we have said, marched to Thermopylæ at the head of four thousand men. Of these, three hundred only were Spartans: the rest were from different parts of Peloponnesus, excepting seven hundred from Thespiæ, and from Thebes four hundred. The Thebans were thought to be in connection with the Persians; and therefore out of that suspected people Leonidas chose four hundred, as pledges of the faith of their countrymen. Historians are in general agreed, that Leonidas did not expect to return from this expedition. The Delphic priests, it seems, had declared, that unless a person of the royal line of the Heracidae fell in this war, Sparta must be overthrown; and this generous prince had determined to offer himself the victim for his country, and to abide death at Thermopylæ. The reader has been already made acquainted with the situation of this famed streight. It led the way from Thessaly into the more southern provinces of Greece; and so narrow was it in some parts, that scarcely could a chariot pass through. On either side of it nature had formed vast, formidable enclosures: to the west rose the high and craggy mount Œta, and on the east was the Maliac bay, and a morass deep and inaccessible. The Phocians had formerly built a wall with gates across this pass, to secure themselves against the incursions of the Thessalian tribes. Through length of time and neglect the wall had fallen down; but the Greeks now raised it up again. And here did Leonidas and his men wait the approach of the Persians.

XERXES,



XERXES, until he came hither, had not met BOOK  
with the least opposition ; all the nations through V.  
which he marched paying him homage, and SECT. 2.  
ranging themselves under his banners. This  
gleam of success added to the vanity of this ill-  
fated prince, and in his thoughts Greece was  
already in subjection. The same infatuation  
possessed him even at Thermopylæ : he promised  
to himself, that Leonidas would either submit or  
take flight, as soon as he should see what myriads  
were moving on against him. However, scouts  
were sent to observe the appearance and number  
of these daring Grecians. It happened, that the  
Spartans were that day on guard, at the outside  
of the wall. Some were performing their exer-  
cises, others adjusting their hair : for to that war-  
like people the day of battle was the only day of  
shew and ornament ; and their study to dress  
themselves was observed always to rise in propor-  
tion to the greatness of the peril, to which they  
meant to expose their lives. The messengers  
reported what they had seen to their sovereign,  
adding further, that the enemy seemed to take no  
notice of those who observed them, but suffered  
them to retire at leisure. Surprised at the ac-  
count, Xerxes sent for Demaratus, whom he had  
obliged to accompany him in this expedition, and  
required of him to say, what might be the pur-  
pose of the Spartans. ‘ They are come,’ said  
the king, ‘ to defend that pass, or die in the at-  
tempt.’—‘ Ridiculous,’ answered Xerxes, ‘ what,  
‘ against millions ?’—‘ Whether against many, or  
‘ against few, it is indifferent to them,’ replied  
Demaratus ; ‘ for Spartans never flee.’ Xerxes  
believed him not : he waited therefore four days,  
expecting they would disperse. On the fifth day,  
finding they still held their station, he was moved  
with

BOOK with anger at their insolence, and ordered the

V. Medes, together with the sons and brothers of  
Sect. 2. those who had been slain at Marathon, to take them alive, and bring them to him. These orders of Xerxes were ill executed; for the brave Grecians repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Fresh troops succeeded in the place of the first, but with equal ill success: this continued encrease of numbers contributed only to swell the glory of Leonidas and his gallant companions. At length the Medes, unable any longer to sustain the fight, drew off, and Hydarnes advanced at the head of the *ten thousand*: these were the band which the Persians called *immortal*, and were esteemed the flower of Xerxes' army. Their fate was not happier than that of the Medes: routed, after many vigorous but fruitless efforts, with grievous loss, they were forced to desist. Historians tell us, that Xerxes, in anguish of soul at the condition of his men, started thrice from his seat during the action. The ensuing day, the Persians, induced by the supposed weakness of the Greeks, and judging that after such a day as the last they would be scarcely able to make resistance, renewed the attack. But the same unabated courage still inspired these generous men; and this mighty host, beaten back, terrified, hopeless, were obliged to abandon the hazardous enterprise.

IN this doubtful state of affairs, Xerxes promised a high reward to any one who could advise the means of destroying the Greeks; when a wretch was found, a Grecian too, of soul base enough to sell the lives of these glorious patriots, and for vile gold to give up Greece to bondage. History has preserved the name of the accursed traitor: he was called Epialtes, and was a native of Trachin, a city in Theffaly. There lay a way over the mountains to Thermopylæ; and by this road Epialtes engaged

engaged to lead the Persians into the very pass, where Leonidas and his men were posted. Accordingly Xerxes commanded Hydarnes and the *immortal band* to follow him, who towards evening began their march. Book V. Sect. 2.

LEONIDAS soon had notice of the danger that threatened him : a Grecian in the army of Xerxes deserted to his countrymen with the intelligence. Immediately this brave prince called a council of war, at which he declared his pleasure, that all his people, except the three hundred Spartans, and the four hundred from Thebes of whose faith he doubted, should return to the Isthmus, and reserve themselves for better times. ‘ But as for me, said he to them, ‘ here will I, and my Spartans ‘ with me, defend the station appointed to us. ‘ Our achievements prepare you victory. Persia ‘ shall know from us, what the undaunted courage of even an handful of Greeks can perform ‘ against her boasted numbers. Farewel, and tell ‘ Sparta, that Leonidas dieth for her.’ We may judge, what were the last partings of men like these. Many of the confederates requested earnestly, that they might stay and share the fate of the Spartans. But Leonidas prevailed on them all to depart, the Thespians excepted : they alone obstinately refused to leave Thermopylæ, and Leonidas was forced to yield to their entreaties.

WHEN the rest of the confederates were thus withdrawn, the king commanded his soldiers to take some refreshment : ‘ and,’ added he, ‘ take ‘ it chearfully ; our next meal shall be with the ‘ invisible gods.’ Their repast finished, and all being ready in arms, this hero put in execution one of the boldest schemes that ever were conceived. It was now dark, and by the next dawn the party that was coming over the mountain might probably reach Thermopylæ. He therefore



BOOK fore proposed, that they should break into the

V. Persian camp, while the obscurity of the night favoured them, and if possible, make their way to the royal pavilion, and kill Xerxes. No task could be more grateful to the spirited Grecians. Instantly, with Leonidas leading them on, they rushed out of the pass, and falling in among the enemy, made incredible slaughter; for the barbarians neither knew the number of their assailants, nor on what side to defend themselves, and in the confusion many of them fell by the hands one of the other. In the mean time, the horror and consternation spread from place to place; and it is believed that Xerxes himself would that night have paid the price of invaded Greece, had he not in the beginning of the alarm fled from his tent; for the Spartans soon forced a passage to it, and put to the sword as many as came in their way. Thus it was, till day appeared. But when the Persians became sensible with what an inconsiderable number they had been engaged, they began to take courage, though without daring to approach near to them, but annoying them at a distance with darts and other missile weapons.

Not long after, the shouts from Thermopylæ gave notice to the Greeks, that the Persians were at the bottom of the mountain. Retreating therefore to that part where the path was narrowest, they here again maintained the fight both against those behind, and against the others that poured in at the mouth of the strait. In this unequal conflict Leonidas soon was slain: and such was the amazing valour of the few surviving Greeks, that four times they rescued his corpse out of the hands of the Persians. At length they all fell, oppressed, not conquered, the terror of Xerxes even in their deaths; and as a judicious historian observes, to them in a great measure ought to be ascribed

ascribed the victories that followed. From that **B o o k** day, the barbarians were half defeated before they **V.** engaged : they brought with them into battle an **Sect. 2.** enfeebled and desponding spirit, scarcely daring to present their faces to men, to whom they well knew no form of death was affrighting. It may be needless to say, that along with the Spartans, all the Thebians fell also. As for those of Thebes, from the moment they saw the victory incline to the Persians, they held up their hands, and submitted. Of the three hundred Spartans but a single man escaped, who had left the army before the engagement. It is from Herodotus we have this particular, and he adds, some circumstances worth notice.

Two Spartans, afflicted with a severe distemper in their eyes, obtained permission from Leonidas to retire to Alpeni, a town in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ : the name of the one was Eurytus, of the other, Aristodemus. When Eurytus heard that the Persians were coming by the way of the mountain, he called for his arms, and ordering his servant to lead him into the field of battle, rushed in among the thickest of the enemy, where he lost his life. The other returned safe to Sparta : but so base was he accounted for having refused to die at such a juncture, that none of his fellow citizens would converse with him, and he was stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of Aristodemus *the fugitive*. The man made glorious amends at the battle of Platææ, where he was slain, after exhibiting many amazing proofs of valour.

IMMEDIATELY on receiving the mournful tidings of the fall of Leonidas, it was resolved, that the Grecian fleet should bear away from the Euripus for Athens. However Themistocles, even in this distracting situation of their affairs, devised

BOOK devised an artifice to weaken the Persians, or at least to introduce distrust and jealousies among them. He ordered inscriptions to be fixed on the several rocks that lay along those parts of the Eubœan coast whither it was likely they should come, containing earnest invitations to the Ionians, who served in the fleets of Xerxes. ‘What folly, O Ionians, has possessed you, to assist your tyrants, the sworn enemies of your religion and laws, and to engage against your friends, your countrymen, the founders of your states, the assertors of your liberties, who had not now felt the distresses of war, had they not taken up arms to rescue you from slavery and destruction? Forake therefore this unnatural alliance: or if regard to your safety forbids it, remember at least, when the battle is joined, to rest on your oars, and fall off from the Persians.’ It does not appear, that these representations produced much. Herodotus tells us, that most of the Ionians, particularly at Salamis, fulfilled their engagements faithfully.

WHEN the confederate fleet arrived at Athens, they found all things there in confusion at the expected approach of the Persians. The greater part of the people seemed nevertheless determined to remain and defend the city. In vain did Themistocles represent to them the impossibility of success; in vain did he repeat the declaration of the god, that Athens must owe her safety to her walls of wood. This very oracle many, of them fondly interpreted of their citadel, the Acropolis, which was surrounded with wooden pales; and here did they resolve to wait the promised deliverance. In this distress, he thought it necessary to interest their superstition: the priests were prevailed on to say, that for some days the *sacred dragon* had refused to eat, that now it had disappeared, and that the



the goddess herself had certainly left the city, and Book  
 taken her flight before them towards the sea. By V.  
 these means the counsel of Themistocles prevailed. Sect. 2.  
 A solemn decree was passed, that Athens should  
 be recommended to the protection of Minerva;  
 that all those who were of years to bear arms,  
 should embark; and that all possible care should  
 be taken to provide for the safety of the old men,  
 the women, the children, and the slaves. Thus  
 the people marched out of Athens, all except some  
 few, who obstinately trusting in the mistaken ora-  
 cle, retired to the Acropolis: the rest, old and  
 young, went on board, amidst mutual tears, and  
 the tenderest partings. Never was there seen a  
 more affecting spectacle: a whole people forsaking  
 their ancient dwellings, the place of their nativity,  
 the temples of their gods, the monuments of their  
 ancestors; women holding out their helpless in-  
 fants to the embraces of their fathers; parents,  
 bent down with age, hanging about the necks of  
 those sons whom probably they were never to be-  
 hold more. Even the domestic animals\*, Plutarch Themist.  
 tells us, expressed their mournings in various ways,  
 and with dismal yellings followed down to the ut-  
 most verge of the shore the masters that had nou-  
 rished them. A melting scene! but what would  
 not the Athenians have endured for the sake of  
 liberty?—The aged, the women, and children  
 were sent over, part of them to Salamis, and part  
 to Trœzen. At Trœzen, the inhabitants thought  
 they could never sufficiently signalize their affec-  
 tion towards a people, who had forsaken all to  
 fight the battles of Greece. It was decreed, that  
 as many of the Athenians as had taken refuge  
 among them should be maintained out of the reve-  
 nues of the state; that their children should have

\* The dog of Xanthippus (the father of Pericles) swam by his master's galley all the way from Attica to Salamis, and expiring when he reached the shore, the Athenians raised a monument to him, extant in Plutarch's time.

BOOK leave to gather fruits where they pleased ; and that  
 V. masters should be appointed, at the public charge,  
 Sect. 2. to instruct them.

IN the mean time Xerxes was holding on his course towards Athens. After the death of Leonidas and his glorious band, he had given leave to his naval forces at Artemisium to come on shore, and be witnesses of their master's victory ; but that they might not know at what an expence it had been purchased, care was taken to conceal the bodies of those who had been slain on the Persian side : historians say, they were not fewer than twenty thousand. He had also, in mean revenge, ordered the body of Leonidas to be impaled : so little did Xerxes know how to honour real virtue. This done, he entered Greece, where all opposition seemed to cease before him. The Phocians were fled to the heights of the mountains ; the Locrians of Cnemis, the inhabitants of Doris, and they of Bœotia had submitted, and joined him with their forces : so that through the whole country not one enemy appeared against him. Surprised at this, Xerxes, it is said, enquired of certain Arcadian deserters, where the Grecians were. ‘ They are now,’ answered they, ‘ celebrating the Olympic games.’ ‘ And what is the prize they contend for ?’ demanded Tigranes, a noble Persian. ‘ An olive crown,’ said the Arcadians. ‘ O Mardonius,’ Tigranes cried out, ‘ against what men have you persuaded us to make war ! they fight not for gold and silver, but only for virtue.’ This sensible observation glanced pointless over the heart of Xerxes, and on he marched, glorying in his promised conquests.

DESOLATION accompanied the steps of the Persian monarch, as he proceeded through Phocis. He wasted their lands, he rased their cities, he burnt their temples—that of Delphi only excepted. There, the superstitious pagans tell us, the  
 god,

god, who had neglected other temples *less wealthy*, interposed avowedly in defence of this. The arms that were in the sacred arsenal moved out spontaneously, and placed themselves before the temple gates : part of the mountain, on which the temple stood, fell with a horrid noise, and crushed many of the barbarians : voices were heard, spectres were seen, and even thunder from heaven was darted down on them : so that, terrified at these direful appearances, they fled away precipitately. Whatever was the cause, certain it is, that the Delphic temple was not pillaged.

FROM Phocis the Persians entered Bœotia, where Thespiæ and Platææ, the two only cities of those parts that had not betrayed their country, were laid in ruins. The road now led to Athens, where, as we have said, none remained but the few in the Acropolis, most of them old feeble men, and pales of wood their only rampart. Nevertheless they boldly maintained their ground against this multitude of enemies, even after their wooden fortifications were in a blaze around them : and though the Pisistratidæ offered to obtain them honourable terms, if they would submit, yet did these brave men refuse to purchase life at a price so dear, and died all sword in hand. The Persians wreaked their wrath on the city : they demolished the greater part of it, and destroyed its temples and the most stately of its buildings with fire.

WHEN the Grecians on board the fleet saw that Athens was in the power of the Persians, a panic seized on all, and each people began to fear for themselves. Especially the Peloponnesian allies insisted, that the fleet should sail away immediately to protect the Isthmus. They had land forces already assembled there, which had looked on the desolation of Attica without interposing for its de-



Book V. fence, and had even begun a wall to enclose Pe-  
 Sect. 2. loponnesus, and prevent the irruption of the Per-  
 sians. But Themistocles, besides his concern for  
 those at Salamis, who by this measure were to be  
 given up to certain destruction, wisely judged that  
 the dispersion of the fleet must be the certain con-  
 sequence of their leaving Salamis; or should they  
 be kept together, the Greeks, he knew, never  
 could engage on equal terms against such a fleet  
 as the Persians were masters of, except in narrow  
 seas, where industry and courage might supply  
 the place of numbers. Accordingly, a council be-  
 ing convened, he delivered his opinion with be-  
 coming earnestness. Eurybiades was against him,  
 and would have enjoined him silence: but warm-  
 ed by the distresses of his country, Themistocles  
 still persisted; when the haughty Spartan, impa-  
 tient of controul, raised his admiral's staff to strike  
 him. Themistocles bore it. This brave Athe-  
 nian, bold as he was in arms, in the vigour of  
 life, general for a free state, and commander of  
 the greatest part of the confederate fleet, bore the  
 insult without the least violent emotion, and by a  
 calm sensible reply, infinitely more keen than the  
 retortings of wrath, completely humbled the im-  
 perious Lacedemonian: 'Strike,' said he to Eu-  
 rybiades, 'but hear me.' Eurybiades, with all  
 his pride, blushed, and dropt his arm.

THEMISTOCLES then pressed the Grecians by a  
 number of convincing arguments not to leave Sa-  
 lamis, but to try the fortune of a battle. In the  
 midst of his discourse, he was again interrupted  
 by Adiamantus, admiral of the Corinthians:  
 'They,' said he, 'might be permitted to speak  
 thus, who have an home to contend for.'—'Un-  
 generous reproach!' answered Themistocles:  
 'shall the Athenians be told this, they, who have  
 abandoned all to fight for Greece? But know,  
 ' proud

‘ proud Corinthian, that while the Athenians **Book**  
 ‘ have this power at sea, they never can want an **V.**  
 ‘ home. Even on the Italic coast have we cities, **Sect. 2.**  
 ‘ where we have homes prepared for us, and where  
 ‘ those very Athenians, you dare thus to insult,  
 ‘ might enjoy liberty and peace, were we not  
 ‘ moved by the miseries of our common country.’  
 In short, the force of Themistocles’ words prevailed,  
 and it was resolved to remain at Salamis.

HOWEVER, one or two days after, when the  
 Persian fleet came up from Eubœa, (for they staid  
 there some days to ravage the island) and the Gre-  
 cians beheld the seas spread over with the ships of  
 the barbarians, their fears revived, and most of  
 the commanders seemed unwilling to wait a gene-  
 ral engagement. Themistocles dreaded the conse-  
 quence of those wavering counsels, and to bring  
 them to an issue, formed a design equally artful  
 and adventurous. He sent a trusty messenger to  
 the king of Persia to give him intelligence, ‘ that  
 ‘ he now had an opportunity of destroying at one  
 ‘ blow the whole naval power of Greece; that the  
 ‘ admirals were meditating to depart, each to the  
 ‘ defence of his own country; and that if he did not  
 ‘ take care to prevent their escape, he would find  
 ‘ himself involved in a tedious, expensive war.’  
 It soon appeared, how just were the apprehensions  
 of Themistocles. The following night, at the in-  
 stance of the chief commanders, a council was  
 assembled, and the question for leaving Salamis  
 was moved again with great vehemence.

DURING these debates, the great Aristides join-  
 ed the fleet. He owed his banishment to The-  
 mistocles: yet to this commander he first address-  
 ed himself. ‘ We have long,’ said he to him,  
 ‘ contended one with the other about authority  
 ‘ and place. Let us put an end to this mean con-  
 Y 2 ‘ test,

BOOK V. Sect. 2. ‘ test, and from this day strive only, which of  
 ‘ us shall perform the most faithful service to his  
 ‘ country—you, in advising like a provident able  
 ‘ counsellor—I, in punctually executing your  
 ‘ commands. Shortly shall we have an opportu-  
 ‘ nity of making proof of our zeal for the cause  
 ‘ of Greece: the enemies are already surround-  
 ‘ ing us on every side, and with difficulty have I  
 ‘ made my way hither from Ægina.’—‘ O Aristi-  
 ‘ des,’ Themistocles answered, ‘ how have you  
 ‘ outdone me! this noble cordiality of yours co-  
 ‘ vers me with confusion. But I will not be left  
 ‘ behind: it shall be the endeavour of my whole  
 ‘ life to equal this magnanimous precedent, and  
 ‘ to cultivate the friendship and esteem of the no-  
 ‘ ble Aristides.’ He then confided to him the  
 secret, that it was by his contrivance Xerxes was  
 forcing them to an engagement, and besought him  
 to go in, and inform the council of the posture of  
 the enemy. They heard the account with won-  
 der, and seemed scarcely to give credit to it, when  
 a ship belonging to some of the Grecian islanders  
 came over to them from the Persians with a con-  
 firmation of the report. The necessity of affairs  
 restored unanimity among the allies, and all  
 made ready for battle.

Soon as day appeared, they discovered the  
 Persian fleet, ranged in dreadful shew of war; for  
 it consisted of more than four thousand ships,  
 whilst the Grecians had not four hundred. The  
 Athenians nevertheless, led on by Themistocles,  
 bore down on the enemy with the resolution of  
 men who had every dearest concern at stake, and  
 were seconded by the rest of the fleet. The Per-  
 sians also at first exerted themselves vigorously;  
 for they were now in presence of their king, who  
 had ordered a throne to be erected for him on the  
 Attic shore, that he might enjoy the expected vic-  
 tory.



tory. But the order, the naval skill, and superior B o o k  
 courage of the confederates quickly changed the V.  
 face of things. The Asiatics, notwithstanding the Sect. 2.  
 weight and multitude of their ships, found them-  
 selves unable to withstand the regular and intrepid  
 charge of the Grecian fleet; and when the confu-  
 sion was once begun, their very numbers proved  
 fatal to them, as they wanted sea-room, and many  
 of their vessels, in the hurry of the flight, fell foul  
 one of the other. All this time, the Athenians  
 and those of Ægina (for they above all others dis-  
 tinguished themselves on this glorious day) were  
 pressing them in close pursuit; so that of all the  
 ships they came up with, scarcely any escaped  
 being either sunk or taken.

THE reader will judge for himself, what was  
 now the condition of the presumptuous Xerxes.  
 The first workings of his rage were terrible. Some  
 of the Phœnician commanders happening to ap-  
 proach him, he ordered their heads to be struck  
 off, though they deserved to be accounted among  
 the best and faithfullest of his servants. At length,  
 Mardonius endeavoured to appease the king. He  
 extenuated the loss he had received; he assured  
 him, that notwithstanding his disgrace at  
 sea, Peloponnesus must submit, and that his land  
 forces alone were sufficient to spread desolation  
 through every part of Greece: ‘ But if the king,’  
 ‘ said he, ‘ would rather return to Asia, let three  
 ‘ hundred thousand men be entrusted to me, and  
 ‘ my life shall answer for the success.’ The pro-  
 posal pleased Xerxes; for that unhappy prince  
 dreaded nothing more than the event of a battle.  
 He was also advised to accept of Mardonius’ offer  
 by Artemisia queen of Caria, who had acquitted  
 herself gloriously in the late engagement, and for  
 her abilities was honoured by Xerxes above all  
 the princes that attended him. Immediately after,  
arrived

BOOK arrived a messenger from Themistocles, to desire

V. him to hasten away with all possible expedition, if  
 Sect. 2. he meant to save his life, for that the Grecians were preparing to cut off his retreat. It seems, the Grecian commanders had it in deliberation to destroy the bridge which had been thrown across the Hellespont, that Xerxes and all his army might perish. In vain had Themistocles represented to them, that the Persians still had a very formidable force, and that despair would make even cowards brave: when he found his opinion was set aside, he advised with Ari<sup>st</sup>ides, and sent off a trusty messenger to the Persian king. Xerxes therefore, terrified at this prospect, stole off with some few chosen men, and fled away towards the Hellespont. When he arrived there, the bridge had been broken by storms; but his fears making him suppose the enemy at his heels, he passed over, at the hazard of his life, in a small vessel, and hardly reached Abydus, not having so much as taken off his garments, according to some historians, since the action at Salamis. So changed was the fortune of this mighty emperor of Asia! Mar- donius soon followed, and took up his winter quarters in Thessaly.

THE earliest attention of the victors, after so glorious a success, was to pay their solemn thanksgivings to the gods, protectors of Greece. Amidst the gloom of paganism, that generous people wanted not discernment to perceive, that to the favour of heaven was to be ascribed the good fortune that crowned their arms. The next public concern was to confer suitable honours on those who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. Among these Themistocles was the first. The wisdom of his counsels, his coolness and conduct in the day of battle, his superiority

periority of naval skill, easily obtained him a mark-Book ed degree of eminence. The Lacedemonians V. themselves, with all their natural pride, conceded Sect. 2. to him the same distinctions, as they bestowed on Eurybiades, decreeing to this last the prize of *valour*, to Themistocles the prize of *wisdom*. They even invited him to Sparta, where they presented him with a sumptuous chariot, and at his departure ordered him to be attended to their frontiers by three hundred youths of noble birth; an honour, such as Sparta never paid to any but Themistocles. What opinion also the Grecian chiefs of other states had of his abilities, appeared on a remarkable occasion. After a naval victory, it was usual that the commanders should assemble in the temple of Neptune on the Isthmus, and write upon billets taken from the altar the names of those that had fought best—every captain wrote down his own name, and next, that of Themistocles. But the highest honour Themistocles enjoyed, was at the ensuing Olympic festival. As soon as he appeared, the whole croud of spectators sent forth the loudest acclamations of joy, and instead of observing the games, attended to nothing but the illustrious Athenian, admiring him, and desiring all strangers there to behold ‘the deliverer of his country.’ It is said, Themistocles confessed, ‘this was the happiest day he had ever known, and that he then reaped the full reward of his labours.’

It is however the unhappy condition of human nature, that some shameful stain often appears amidst the purity of the brightest virtues. Thus it was with Themistocles. Wise as he was in council, and brave in war, he scrupled not, as we have said already, any means of acquiring wealth; and in this view, he desired the command



BOOK mand of some ships, under pretence of chastising

V. the islands that had leagued with the Persians.

Sect. 2. Historians generally agree, that he obtained little honour in this expedition: they tell us, that none felt the power of his arms, but those who had not money to purchase the favour of the rapacious general. But let us turn from the ungrateful topic: it is mortifying to observe such blemishes in a character like his. And when it is considered, what a person he was, graced with such a number of excellent qualities, of a courage so steady and active in the most trying perils, of a love so unalterable to his country, and which is the most difficult attainment of all, of that uncommon greatness of soul which enabled him to bear with calmness all the indignities the pride of Sparta threw out on him, it must surely move our wonder, how this *meanness* could find a place in a mind so nobly constructed.

THE retreat of the Persians gave an opportunity to those of Athens to return to their ravaged city, and take up their residence in its ruins. In the mean time Mardonius was in Thessaly, preparing for the operations of war, as soon as the season should permit them. Nevertheless he dreaded the Athenians greatly; and if he could only conclude a peace with that brave people, he promised himself an easy conquest of the rest of Greece. He therefore determined to send a solemn embassy to Athens; for which purpose he made choice of Alexander king of Macedon, who, though in amity with the Persians, was of Grecian extraction, and entitled to the rights of hospitality in the state of Athens. Of this measure the Spartans having received early notice, dispatched ambassadors with all speed to oppose the intrigues of the Macedonian.— The Athenians on their part, that  
all

all suspicion of unfair proceedings might be pre-cluded, appointed that the embassadors both of Persia and of Sparta should have their public audience at the same time. B o o k V. Sect. 2.

ALEXANDER spoke first. He told the people, that his singular regard to them had moved him to accept this commission: that Xerxes had sent to tender them peace; and that, after all the grievous wrongs he had received from them, this mighty monarch was willing to become their benefactor and friend: that Mardonius had directions to restore to them whatever the waste of war had despoiled them of, and besides to offer them any other country they should desire: that those rights and liberties, which they held so dear, should also remain to them; they should be governed by the same laws, and enjoy the same worship: that indeed they had bravely opposed the Persian arms; but was it possible they should always oppose them? the forces of Xerxes were past numbering, and his treasures inexhaustible: if they continued the war, they must perish in the end; if they made alliance with the Great King, they should assuredly be happy.' The anxious Spartans then took up the discourse. 'The Athenians,' they observed, 'from the earliest date of time had been the assertors of liberty, men who esteemed it their glory to fight the battles of oppressed nations: nothing therefore could be more inconsistent or dishonourable, than that they should now consent to take on themselves the yoke of slavery: that it was *their* quarrel, which had first brought this war on Greece: with the deepest concern the Spartans beheld the devastation of Attica, and the overthrow of so illustrious a city; but that in compensation, during whatever

B o o k ‘ length of time the war should last, it should be the  
 V. ‘ peculiar care of Sparta to provide for the susten-  
 Sect. 2. ‘ ance of all the Athenians that were not able to  
 ‘ bear arms: that the magnificent promises of the  
 ‘ Persian were false ensnaring promises, their  
 ‘ utter destruction being the object he really  
 ‘ fought under the fair semblance of amity and  
 ‘ peace.’

WHEN the ambassadors had made an end of speaking, Aristides answered in the name of the commonwealth. To Alexander he said, ‘ that it was but a mean proof of his affection to ‘ the Athenian people, to endeavour to betray ‘ them into infamy and bondage: that the ‘ Athenians were not strangers to the power of ‘ Xerxes, and the multitude of his forces :—but ‘ go,’ added he, ‘ and tell Mardonius, that the ‘ dangers of war move us not; and as long as the ‘ sun shall continue his course, never shall the ‘ Athenians have peace with Persia; never shall ‘ they forget their desolated country, and the ‘ temples of their gods consumed to ashes.—As ‘ for you, ye men of Lacedemon, how could ye ‘ imagine that there was occasion for a bribe to ‘ urge us to the defence of liberty; or that the ‘ large offers of *the barbarian* could tempt us to a ‘ servile peace? Know, that neither the fairest ‘ possessions Xerxes can bestow, nor all the ‘ treasures the compass of the earth contains, ‘ shall ever induce us to renounce the glorious ‘ cause in which we are engaged. Remember ‘ only, that war is determined against us; and ‘ that Attica must once more become a prey to ‘ those ravagers, if our armies advance not into ‘ Bœotia to prevent them. Hasten therefore, and ‘ march to our assistance: the common prosperity ‘ of Greece calls upon you.’ Aristides then preferred



ferred a decree, that the priests should have orders B o o k  
to pronounce tremendous execrations against any, V.  
who should advise to make alliance with the Sect. 2.  
Medes, or to desert the cause of Greece.

THESE hardy resolutions, no doubt, must have occasioned to Mardonius many ill-boding thoughts: but he had undertaken the charge of the war, and he was obliged to abide the issue of it. Accordingly, about the beginning of spring, he gave orders that the Persian forces should move on towards Athens. The Spartans mean while, regardless of the fate of Attica, were employed in finishing the wall at the isthmus, and in fortifying it with battlements. So that the Athenians, finding themselves thus unworthily forsaken, and incapable of themselves to make resistance, abandoned their country, and retired again to Salamis. When Mardonius had entered the Attic borders, and discerned the condition of the Athenians, that they had neither army to oppose him, nor friends to depend on, he deemed it a good opportunity by a second embassy to solicit them to peace. But these generous men knew not how to sell their liberty for a price. One person only was there found, who ventured to propose in senate, that they should have respect to the distresses of their country, and put an end to this ruinous war. Immediately all the senators expressed their indignation at the infamous counsel, by stoning the author of it to death. The cause of the tumult being also divulged abroad, the Athenian women crowded to his house, and executed the like vengeance on his wife and children. Hitherto Mardonius had held his hand from devastation; but now convinced, that neither peril nor promise could influence the Athenians to accept of peace, he rased or burnt whatever remained of the walls,  
the

Bef. Christ  
479.

**BOOK** the houses, and temples, and made the whole  
 V. city a smoking ruin. After this noble feat, he  
 Sect. 2. marched off towards Bœotia, not daring to wait  
 an engagement in those mountainous rugged parts,  
 where his horse could scarcely be of service.

ALL this time no Spartan army was to be seen  
 on its march for the defence of Attica. There is  
 even reason to believe, that this people beheld  
 without much concern the destruction of their rival  
 city. Embassadors from Athens failed not to make  
 representations at Sparta; but these were deluded  
 with various promises until the fortifications at the  
 Isthmus were completed, and probably would have  
 been dismissed without any regard to their de-  
 mands, had not the other Peloponnesians openly  
 declared against so shameful a treachery. Parti-  
 cularly the Tegeans, though in strict connection  
 with those of Sparta, reproached them sharply for  
 their ingratitude to that brave people. They  
 observed, that ‘if not a sense of honour, yet self-  
 ‘ preservation should induce them to exert them-  
 ‘ selves: that it was to no purpose to hope security,  
 ‘ if once the Athenians ceased to oppose the  
 ‘ Persian power; and that they soon would find  
 ‘ how weak a defence their boasted walls afforded  
 ‘ them, when their ports were universally open to  
 ‘ the enemy.’ These remonstrances had their  
 effect: the Spartans sent off privately by night  
 forty thousand men; and the ensuing day, when  
 the embassadors according to custom urged their  
 suit, the Ephori told them with a smile, that  
 their army was already on its march against the  
 Persians.

AT the head of these troops was Pausanias: he  
 was the son of Cleombrotus, and was constituted  
 general in the room of Plistarchus, son to Leoni-  
 das, who was not yet of age. Leotychides, the  
 other

other king, had been sent with Xanthippus the B o o k  
 Athenian to command the Grecian fleet, which V.  
 now lay at Delos. Aristides joined Pausanias Sect. 2.  
 with eight thousand men; and the other Grecians  
 arriving daily, the army was found to consist of a  
 hundred thousand men and upwards. The forces  
 of Mardonius trebled that number: nevertheless the  
 Grecians marched after him into Bœotia, and  
 encamped at the foot of mount Cithæron. Whilst  
 they lay here, an occasion offered, in which the  
 Athenians acquired signal honour. A detached  
 party of horse of the Asiatics had insulted the  
 Megarean quarters. The Megareans, finding  
 themselves much galled, and fearing they should  
 be overpowered by the weight of numbers, sent  
 to Pausanias to ask a reinforcement, a service in  
 which the rest of the allies appeared not very  
 willing to engage, when three hundred Athenians  
 generously marched forth, and both repulsed the  
 enemy, and slew Masistius the leader of the de-  
 tachment, a nobleman of distinguished character,  
 highly in esteem both with Xerxes and the army.  
 The Persians mourned for him with great lamen-  
 tations.

THIS exploit performed, the Grecians moved  
 off from Cithæron towards Plataæ, to a more  
 convenient situation, and took their station on one  
 side of the Asopus, the enemy extending them-  
 selves along the other. It appears, that the ge-  
 nerals of both armies apprehended danger in  
 passing this river; and therefore, agreeably to the  
 humour of those times when religion was made  
 subservient to political purposes, the diviners had  
 declared, that victory was promised to those who  
 should forbear to attack the enemy. Impressed  
 with this belief, the two armies observed each  
 other several days; and though skirmishes were  
 frequent,



BOOK frequent, no general engagement followed. In

V. this interval of time, dark treason was brooding in  
Sect. 2. the camp of the allies. Certain Athenians of the  
best and noblest families, who had wasted their  
fortunes in the war, and saw themselves fallen  
from that pre-eminence to which they might justly  
have pretended when Athens had her days of  
peace, conspired to overturn the commonwealth,  
or if that could not be effected, to betray all into  
the hands of the Persians. The black design was  
discovered to Aristides; when this excellent  
patriot, apprehending the consequences of proceed-  
ing with strictness at this perilous juncture, chose  
to let the whole guilt fall on eight persons, and of  
those to condemn two only; and even they were  
by connivance suffered to escape. To the rest,  
against whom suspicious were entertained, he said,  
' that the ensuing battle was the tribunal where  
' they were to justify themselves, and give evidence,  
' that they had never engaged in any counsels but  
' what were useful to their country.' By this  
prudent act of dissimulation the dangerous con-  
spiracy was entirely dissipated.

THE two armies had now remained within  
fight of each other eleven days, when Mardonius,  
who saw himself threatened with scarcity of pro-  
visions, resolved to pass the Asopus on the morrow,  
and give battle to the Grecians. Pausanias had  
advice of this, and of the disposition of the enemy:  
he took a resolution therefore of altering the arrange-  
ment of his army, by placing the Athenians, of  
whose bravery and experience he had the highest  
opinion, in that part where it was likely the battle  
would press most. Accordingly he made them a  
compliment of the post of honour, the right  
wing, which had been always assigned to the  
Spartans, because the opposite left wing was to  
consist

consist of the Persians, esteemed the bravest among the barbarians, and with whose manner of fighting the Athenians were best acquainted. But Mardonius, having learned by report this alteration, sent a messenger to reproach the Spartans with deserting their post, and at the same time changed likewise his order of battle. These various evolutions prevented the opposite armies from coming to an engagement on that day.

THE following night the confederate chiefs, who had for some time been straitened both for water and provisions in their present post, as the Persian horse continually infested all the passes around them, agreed to move off immediately to other ground, distant about ten stades (between two and three miles) from the Asopus. The Spartans and Athenians marched in two columns, the former along the hills, to avoid the enemies cavalry, the Athenians by the way of the plain: the rest of the army observed not any order, the greater part of them pressing on with the utmost precipitancy towards Plataeæ. When day appeared, and Mardonius had intelligence that the Grecian camp was forsaken, he concluded the Greeks were fled, and commanded his forces to pursue them vigorously. His orders were readily obeyed; they rushed after the supposed fugitives, as to certain victory, with mighty shouts and an horrible barbarous noise, and soon came up with the Lacedæmonians, these having been delayed by the obstinate behaviour of one of their commanders, who at first refused to observe the orders of Pausanias, as bringing on Spartans the dishonourable imputation of fleeing before the enemy. The Lacedæmonians had only the Tegeans with them. In this distress, Pausanias sent off a messenger to the Athenians, to desire they would hasten to his assistance:

**Βοοκ** assistance : but they had already joined battle with

V. the Greeks in Mardonius' army, of whom the  
 Sect. 2. Bœotians especially charged the Athenians with  
 excessive fury, so that Aristides was engaged in a  
 sharp and doubtful conflict. However Pausanias  
 received the barbarians in good order, by the  
 help of which he obtained infinite advantage over  
 them, their tumultuous numbers availing little  
 against the cool and regular defence of the Lacedæ-  
 monian line. The battle however continued to  
 rage, until Mardonius fell. As soon as he was  
 slain, and the chosen men about him had fallen,  
 the whole army disbanded and fled towards their  
 camp. And here began a fierce combat ; for the  
 Asiatics had encompassed themselves with fortifica-  
 tions of wood, through which the Lacedæmonians,  
 ill experienced in the art of sieges, in vain attempt-  
 ed to force their passage, when the Athenians  
 arrived, after defeating their part of the enemy,  
 and attacked the works with such spirit, that in a  
 short time the camp was stormed, and a prodigious  
 slaughter ensued. Of this great multitude none  
 escaped the sword, excepting forty thousand that  
 made good their retreat with Artabazus at the  
 beginning of the confusion, and about three  
 thousand taken prisoners. What is not less sur-  
 prising, on the Grecian side there fell only thirteen  
 hundred and sixty. Amongst these was the  
 Aristodemus we mentioned already : he had de-  
 termined to wipe off the blemish of the day of  
 Thermopylæ, and rushing in among the thickest  
 of the enemy, fell at last, amidst heaps of barba-  
 rians slain by his hand. The judgment given by  
 Sparta on this occasion deserves notice. They  
 refused to Aristodemus the honours they paid to  
 the memory of the rest of their countrymen who  
 had distinguished themselves, because he sought



to die, despair was his motive. Of another Spartan also honourable mention is made: his name Callicratides. He was mortally wounded with an arrow before the engagement began, and as they were bearing him off, 'Hard fate,' said he, turning him about to one of his fellow soldiers, 'not that I die for Greece, but that I die before I have performed any thing worthy of myself and of my zeal for my country !'

ARTABAZUS, to whose conduct it was owing that any relicks of this mighty host were preserved, was a noble Persian, an upright, sensible, brave man, who had earnestly endeavoured to dissuade Mardonius from hazarding a decisive engagement. 'There was,' he told him, 'a much surer way of subduing the Grecians than by force of arms, by corrupting their chief leaders, and dividing them one against the other.' Happily for Greece, the pride of Mardonius would not suffer him to stoop to these arts of subtilty: the vain general promised himself, that all must yield to his super-eminence of power, and that he could not fail of returning soon with glory and conquest to Asia. Artabazus judged with what success these hopes would be attended, and had formed the resolution to save from destruction as much of the army as he could. Nevertheless, on the day of battle no man fought better, as long as the fate of it was doubtful; but as soon as he saw the scale turn, and Mardonius fall, he fled with forty thousand men, and reached the Hellespont with so much diligence as to outstrip the news of the Grecian victory.

AND yet, what would scarcely be supposed possible, this very success of the allied army had well nigh proved more fatal to Greece, than all the dreaded power of Xerxes. It was the custom of these people, after a victory, to assign the prize

**B o o k** of valour, with the right of erecting a trophy, to

V. those who had fought best. The Athenians claim-  
Sect. 2. ed this honour, and the Spartans also claimed it.

The jealousy subsisting between these two states sharpened the dispute, which they were on the point of deciding by arms, when some of the confederate chiefs proposed, that both parties should wave their pretensions in favour of the Plataeans, that intrepid people, whose power was of too little moment to excite envy, and who had deserved so well from their country. To this happy expedient all assenting, fourscore talents, out of the immense booty taken, were set apart for the Plataeans to rebuild their city and the temples of their gods. Aristides added, ‘ that they should erect  
‘ an altar to Jupiter the deliverer; that a solemn  
‘ festival and games sacred to liberty should be celebrated every fifth year at Plataeæ; that a general levy should be made throughout Greece to  
‘ carry on the war against the barbarians; and  
‘ that the Plataeans should be exempt from all military service, to the end that they might devote  
‘ their whole time to the oblation of prayers and  
‘ sacrifices for the safety and weal of Greece.’

BESIDES this monument of the piety and love of liberty of the Grecian people, an annual solemnity was at the same time instituted in memory of those who were slain, the observation of which the Plataeans took upon themselves. On the yearly return of this memorable day for Greece, the whole people of Plataeæ marched in procession to the tombs of the brave men that died there for their country. The procession began at the first dawn of day, and was opened by a trumpet sounding as to battle. Then appeared several chariots, filled with garlands and myrtle branches. Next, a black bull, destined for the sacrifice. After this, a number of young men, *freeborn*, bearing the usual libations;  
for

for no *slave* was permitted to assist at a solemnity B o o k  
 instituted to do honour to the martyrs of liberty. V.  
 Last of all marched the chief magistrate of Pla- Sect. 2.  
 tææ, cloathed with a purple robe, and girt with  
 a sword, which on that day alone he was permitted  
 to wear. To him it belonged to perform the  
 sacred rites : he was to wash the pillars that supported  
 the monuments, and to rub them with  
 sweet ointments : he was then to kill the victim,  
 and having made his supplications to the gods, in  
 conclusion it was his duty to pour forth a libation  
 of wine to those vindicators of their country, with  
 these words, ‘ I offer this bowl to those valiant  
 ‘ men who gave their lives for the liberty of  
 ‘ Greece.’ Plutarch tells us, that even to his  
 time this remarkable solemnity was retained. The  
 Athenian people likewise ordered, that panegyrics  
 should be pronounced every year in honour of the  
 same patriots, by orators specially appointed for  
 the occasion.

THE next concern of the Grecians was to punish  
 those traitors to the cause of liberty, who had taken  
 part with the Persians. Bœotia, of which  
 Thebes was the chief city, had, as we have said,  
 been extremely active, as well as early, in the defection.  
 Immediately then after the victory at  
 Plataæ, Pausanias marched his army to Thebes,  
 and laid siege to it. The Thebans soon capitulated,  
 and delivered up the heads of the Persian faction  
 to Pausanias, who put them to death. The  
 Grecians had the wisdom to content themselves  
 with this. A severer enquiry against all the guilty  
 might have proved the means of involving Greece  
 in a dangerous domestic war, and of confirming  
 in foreign engagements those states, which were  
 now rather to be brought back to the interests and  
 defence of their common country.



BOOK THE day on which the battle of Platææ was

V. fought was rendered further memorable by a second victory obtained by the Greeks at Mycale in  
Sect. 2. Ionia. Their fleet, as we have said, lay at Delos, under the command of Leotychides and Xanthippus. Whilst they were there, deputies arrived from Samos, beseeching them to free the Asiatic Greeks from the yoke of Persia, and engaging to revolt, as soon as their fleet should appear on the Ionian coast. Induced by these promises, the admirals bore away for Asia. Xerxes had left there an army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Tigranes; and there was besides a powerful fleet, cruising between the island Samos and the promontory Mycale. But the Persians knew too well how dreadful the Greeks were in naval combat, to wait their approach: soon as they were apprised of their purpose, they drew all their ships to shore under the protection of the land-forces, and surrounded them with strong palisades and deep entrenchments. When the allies found this, they determined to make to the continent, and attack the enemy. This was an hazardous attempt. A numerous army lined the coast; and though Leotychides had the precaution to send heralds along the shore, to address the Ionians in the Grecian language, and to invite them to assist the confederates, yet was it to be feared their faith would follow the fate of the battle. Nevertheless, in contempt of all danger, they prepared to land; and for some time the Persians made gallant opposition: but at length borne down by the vigor of this intrepid enemy, they were forced to give way, and were followed by the Greeks into their very entrenchments. The sequel may be easily conceived. None escaped the sword, but such as consulted their safety by flight; and of these also great numbers fell by the hands

hands of the Ionians, who rose on them every where as they fled. The Persian camp and fleet were taken, set on fire by the Greeks, and destroyed entirely. When news of these disasters reached Xerxes, he retired precipitately from Sardis, where he had remained to this time, and removed to Ecbatane in Media. B o o k V. Sect. 2.

THE reader will pause with us for a moment to observe, how sudden are the revolutions of the greatest empires, and to reflect on the cause of that wonderful change we have now in our view. Eighteen months before, did Xerxes march into Greece with all the kings of Asia in his train, and upwards of two millions of men in arms. Two little states only were there to oppose him. And yet, such is the superior strength of wisdom and virtue against pride, rashness, and effeminacy—this mighty man is worsted in every place, at Thermopylæ, at Artemisium, at Salamis, at Platææ, at Mycale. His evil genius pursues him incessantly; and all the fruit he reaps from this pompous expedition is the mortification of having given glory, and wealth, and greatness to the people for whom he had prepared destruction. As for the Grecians, they were at this point of time, we might venture to say, the greatest people that ever existed. Not only they were brave—they were humane, generous, compassionate: it was not a brutal courage that led them on; and those very Athenians, who saved Greece at Salamis, might have been seen, some few days before, indulging all the soft tenderesses of domestic life, and melting amidst the embraces of their parents, their wives, their children. It was this very excellence of mind, it was this force of virtuous sentiments, that gave them strength for battle: they were contending for a country made dear to them by all the tenderest habitudes and most interesting connections;

**B o o k** nections ; they were vindicating the honour, the  
 V. liberty, the life of all they loved, against the cru-  
 Sect. 2. elty and savage lust of outrageous barbarians. It  
 was a glorious cause, and just heaven prospered it  
 accordingly !

THE two illustrious actions of Plataeæ and Mycale happened, as we have mentioned, on the same day, the first in the morning, the latter in the afternoon : yet historians agree, that the Grecians at Mycale, before they went to battle, received from Leotychides the important intelligence of their countrymen's success at Plataeæ, distant from them not less than two hundred miles. But this was undoubtedly no other than the artifice of the Spartan king, who observing his soldiers possessed with anxious apprehensions for the fate of the land army, contrived to rouse them from their dejection by causing these joyous tidings to be spread among them. When the report was confirmed, it is not strange that its swift propagation should be esteemed miraculous.

THE Greeks, after their success at Mycale, proposed to sail immediately to the straits of the Hellespont, in order to demolish what had remained of the bridge Xerxes had built there : but finding that, either by force of weather, or the plundering of the neighbouring people, even the ruins of it had been swept away, the Lacedemonians and the rest of the Peloponnesians returned home. The Athenians had other views : they passed over to the Chersonesus, and laid siege to Sestos. Sestos was the principal city of the Chersonesus, a place of considerable strength, and defended by a numerous garrison under the command of Artayctes, a Persian. This man had made an infamous use of his power : his manners were dissolute, and his government cruel and oppressive. The Grecians especially he had treated with great barbarity ; and  
 now



now fearing the punishment he was conscious of B o o k  
meriting, he determined to defend himself to the V.  
utmost extremity. At length, when it was found Sect. 2.  
impossible to save the city, the governor and his  
garrison fled out of it. But the time of vengeance  
was come. Most of the garrison were intercepted  
by the Thracians, who sacrificed the officers to  
their gods, and put the rest to the sword. Ar-  
tayctes and his son fell into the hands of some  
Athenian horsemen, by whom they were carried  
back to Xanthippus at Sestos, and there, not-  
withstanding the large offers he made to obtain his  
life, the Persian expiated his cruelties by a  
cruel death, being impaled alive by the command  
of Xanthippus, while his son was stoned before  
his eyes.\*

THIS done, the Athenians, laden with immense  
treasure, returned in triumph to Greece.

\* Here Herodotus ends his history of the Grecian affairs.

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## B O O K VI.

## SECTION I.

**C**ULTURE and peace now succeeded to the horrors which had desolated Greece. The city of Athens particularly began to rise from its ruins in far greater splendor, than it had ever known before its destruction. The Athenians found themselves enriched with the Persian spoils, and determined to omit nothing which might conduce to the strength and beauty of their new city. It was the advice of Themistocles, who passionate for the glory of his country, persuaded the people to take in a wider circuit of ground, and to raise walls of strength sufficient to secure them against future invaders. The Spartans had always beheld the prosperity of Athens with an eye of jealousy and dislike : it is easy therefore to judge, how much this her encrease of power affected them. ' To what might not this rival city aspire, if enlarged and fortified, which even in ruins was  
 ' able

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BOOK 'able to exhibit such wonders of activity?' Em-

VI. VI. ambassadors were sent immediately to put a stop to  
Sect. 1. the daring attempt, with pretences the most plausible and insinuating: they were to urge the concern that Sparta felt for the common prosperity; to state the danger which threatened the Athenians themselves, should the Persians ever become possessed of a place of strength in the midst of Attica. Little regard being paid to these *friendly* remonstrances, they threw off the mask at length, and in the tone of masters peremptorily forbade this spirited people, who had so nobly adventured all in the cause of liberty, to carry on their walls, under pain of the displeasure of Sparta.

THEMISTOCLES was a wise statesman: he prevailed on his countrymen to smother their resentment, and to answer the arrogant embassy with gentleness. They replied, 'that persons should be deputed to Sparta, to remove whatever umbrage they might have taken at the conduct of the Athenian people.' This hazardous commission Themistocles offered to execute; and accordingly being sent in conjunction with two others, in a few days he arrived at Sparta: but he had artfully left his colleagues on the road; so that, when called to speak, he declined it, on pretence of waiting the arrival of the other ambassadors. In the mean time, the Athenians wrought incessantly to complete their walls, excusing neither years nor station from the important service. The Spartans had notice of their proceedings, and complained to Themistocles, who with an air of sincerity denied the charge, desiring, if they had any suspicions, that trusty persons should be sent directly, to inspect the walls, and make report. Underhand he had given directions, that the Spartan commissioners should be detained till proper notice.

notice. And now, being assured that the walls B o o k  
 were in a condition of defence, and his colleagues VI.  
 being come, he demanded an audience, at which Sect. 2.  
 he delivered his orders with a noble firmness.

‘ It was true,’ he told them, ‘ Athens was now  
 ‘ a walled city, of ability to bid defiance to her  
 ‘ enemies. He himself had been the adviser of  
 ‘ this measure, and he gloried in it, as the means  
 ‘ of advancing the prosperity of his country. It  
 ‘ was unworthy of Sparta to envy the aggrandise-  
 ‘ ment of a state, to which Greece owed her  
 ‘ liberties. If they attempted, in his person and  
 ‘ that of his colleagues, to violate the sacred  
 ‘ character of ambassadors, their own ministers  
 ‘ then at Athens must answer for the perfidy.’  
 Whether through fear or shame, the Spartans  
 dissembled, and Themistocles with his colleagues  
 was dismissed without injury.

THE security of Athens was provided for by  
 land: the next care of Themistocles was to defend  
 her against naval invasion. For this purpose he  
 applied himself to the completing of the Piræus,  
 that famed port, which from his exertions acquired  
 every requisite either for conveniency or safety.  
 Its triple basin was cleared to a capacity of receiv-  
 ing numerous fleets. On shore were places ac-  
 commodated for all the various arts, which a  
 maritime power renders necessary. The dock and  
 arsenal were surrounded with walls forty cubits in  
 height, and so wide, that two chariots might drive  
 on them abreast; the walls built of square stones,  
 bound together by bars of iron and molten lead.  
 It is said, that the Spartans would have opposed  
 this magnificent undertaking, but that, through  
 the artifice of Themistocles, they were again  
 deceived.

BOOK It was about this time, whilst the Piræan

VI. harbour was receiving its improvements, that  
Sect. 1. Themistocles devised a project, which, if it did  
no honour to his uprightness, argued at least a  
deep political subtilty. In an oration to the people  
he intimated, ‘ that he had a *design*, to which if  
‘ they would consent, he would be answerable  
‘ for the execution ; but that it was not of a  
‘ nature to be communicated to a public assembly.’  
He was ordered to confer with Aristides, whose  
report was, ‘ that nothing indeed could be  
‘ more advantageous to the commonwealth than  
‘ the proposal of Themistocles, but that at the  
‘ same time it was extremely unjust :’ on which  
the whole assembly without farther debate unani-  
mously rejected the scheme, and commanded  
Themistocles to think no more of it. He had  
purposed to burn the Peloponnesian fleets then at  
Gythium, by which stroke the maritime power of  
Greece must have remained indisputably in the  
hands of the Athenians. The reader will observe,  
this was not the vote of a chosen number of grave  
senators ; it was the vote of a mixed multitude,  
of several thousands of persons of all conditions ;  
and yet with one voice was the glorious resolution  
passed. The annals of mankind can scarcely  
furnish a similar instance of a whole people, re-  
fusing to purchase empire itself at the expence of  
virtue.

In the excellence of character manifested by the  
Athenians at this juncture may not improbably be  
found the motive, that induced Aristides to propose  
a law directly contradictory to his former principles  
of government. He had always strenuously op-  
posed the power of the people. Nevertheless,  
shortly after the return to Attica, he preferred and  
carried a decree, ‘ that the admission to magistracy  
‘ should



‘ should be open to all Athenians of what condition B o o k  
 ‘ soever.’ The illustrious patriot may have VI.  
 thought, too much confidence could not be placed Sect. 1.  
 in those citizens, who though poor in the advantages of fortune, had shewn such a noble example of disinterestedness. Historians observe further, that the people, such was their moderation in that golden age of their virtue, made not any use of the new privileges conceded to them: content with the right of pretending to the first dignities, they modestly confined themselves to the lower offices of the state, leaving the more important places to be filled by those of eminent birth.

ALTHOUGH it does not appear that the Spartans knew any thing of the advice Themistocles had offered with respect to the ships at Gythium, other reasons were not wanting to urge them on to the ruin of this great man. Besides his behaviour during the embassy to Sparta, he had done them another injury which their pride could not forgive. After the battle at Plataæ, in a general assembly of the Grecian states they had moved, ‘ that as  
 ‘ many of the Amphiçtyones as had confederated  
 ‘ with Persia should be divested of their privileges.’ A specious proposal! but there were deep designs concealed under it. Some of the most considerable of the Amphiçtyonic nations had unhappily entangled themselves in the Persian league, so that in fact no state of any figure was out of the reach of this condemnation, Sparta and Athens excepted; the other members, of which this great council was to be composed, if such a resolution took effect, were petty cantons, for the most part under Spartan influence. This consequence did not escape the penetration of Themistocles, by whose interposition the project miscarried. On these accounts had the Lacedæmonians

BOOK nians marked him out for destruction : we shall  
VI. see anon how fatally they succeeded.

SECT. I. HITHERTO the Grecians had been employed in  
Bef. Christ repairing the waste which the barbarians had  
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made : they now resumed the thoughts of war, by sending off the combined fleet to the Asiatic coast, to assure the liberties and independency of the Grecian cities in those parts. Pausanias the Spartan had the supreme command : Aristides and Cimon were the Athenian admirals. They began their operations by setting free several of the cities of Cyprus, which the Persian held ; thence sailing to Byzantium, a place strong and well garrisoned, they reduced it, making a considerable number of prisoners. Promising as these beginnings were, here was the end of Pausanias' glory.

Bef. Christ Prosperity had undone him ; he was become vain  
476. and insolent ; he had even conceived the design of betraying Greece to the Persians, in which view he had, by means of some prisoners taken at Byzantium, entered into a negotiation with Xerxes, who stipulated to bestow his daughter on him in marriage, and to advance him to the highest dignities.

THAT the victor of Plataeæ should be induced to act the part of a traitor to his country, is indeed a melancholy proof of the frailty of human virtue : but the cause of this perversion must be sought for in the rich plunder, of which that very victory made him possessor. Till that time, plainness of manners and integrity of heart was the character of Pausanias. But after the day of Plataeæ, when he found himself advanced in wealth as well as glory, and numbered among the first men of Greece, he began to entertain aspiring thoughts, and to hate the simplicity and humiliation of the Spartan life. The new honours with  
which

which he was adorned, together with the success Book that followed his arms in the present expedition, VI. contributed not a little to hasten the ruin of this Sect. 1. ambitious man. The officers of the allies soon perceived, that his deportment was no longer what it had been; that he affected much pomp and luxurious magnificence; and carried himself towards all that approached him with intolerable haughtiness. And though his treasonable practices were little more than suspected, yet did this contumelious demeanour settle them in a purpose of renouncing all obedience to Sparta. They applied to Aristides, whom they pressed to accept of the command of the confederate fleet: but that wise Athenian refusing to hazard the honour of his country until by some overt act they had put their sincerity out of question, some of the confederates ran foul of Pausanias' galley, and when he threatened to chastise them, made answer, 'that his most prudent method was to retire; and 'that he might thank fortune for her favours at 'Platææ, the remembrance of which alone restrained them from shewing a quicker sense of 'the ill treatment they had received at his 'hands.'

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In this manner was the superintendency of Ref. Christ Greece transferred to the Athenian people. And 474- as it was pride and arrogance that threw Sparta out of the seat of power, so, say historians, was it the justice of Aristides, and the candour and affability of Cimon, that endeared the Athenian government to all the confederates. Indeed the associated Greeks gave a still more convincing proof of their high esteem for the abilities and just administration of Aristides, when they constituted him, presently after, their sole commissioner, with full powers to tax every one of their states in  
what



BOOK what proportion of ships and money he should judge

VI. proper, for carrying on the war against the Persians.

SECT. 1. This delicate trust he administered with that strict fidelity, that in all the cities and islands, through which he passed in order to survey and value, he was received with acclamations, and at his departure pursued with blessings; and a tax, the first of the kind ever known in Greece, was collected with the greatest ease, and paid with the utmost cheerfulness, so as to be distinguished in history by the remarkable title of *the happy lot of Greece*. The assessment fixed by Aristides was of four hundred and sixty talents, and the money was to be deposited at Delos. Fortunate Athens, had she never forgotten those gentler arts of uprightness and clemency, which alone are the security of governors, and render empire amiable!

THE temper of the Spartans was ill accommodated to bear with patience this diminution of honour. At first they talked of asserting their superiority by force of arms, and probably would have declared war against the Athenians, had not Hetæmoridas one of their senators, a person in high repute for wisdom and integrity, dissuaded them from so ruinous an attempt, calling to their remembrance the laws of Lycurgus, which forbade all pretensions to an empire, not to be supported without hazarding the virtue and sober manners of the Lacedæmonian people. Pausanias however was brought to his trial for a behaviour so derogatory to the honour of his country: but he escaped punishment as yet, being acquitted for want of such proof as the laws of Sparta required. His busy spirit not suffering him to rest, he returned to the sea-coast, though without any authority from the state, where he continued to carry on a correspondence with Artabazus, governor of the  
maritime

maritime parts of Asia Minor, who had orders from Xerxes to concert measures with him. But his intrigues being traversed by the Athenian generals, and the Ephori commanding him home to answer to certain new articles of impeachment, he was obliged a second time to leave Asia. His trial nevertheless had a favourable issue; and notwithstanding the many charges preferred against him, particularly one for having encouraged the Helotæ to revolt, he obtained his acquittal. The judges, it has been said, were willing to soften the severity of the laws in behalf of a person of royal blood, who was guardian to their king, and had formerly deserved so well of Sparta. But as gratitude and lenity were not the characteristic virtues of Spartan judges, it seems more reasonable to conjecture, that they acted from political motives with respect to Pausanias, whom his connections and numerous dependants rendered formidable. He had engaged the slaves to assist him; and those *sons of despair*, headed by a man like him, might probably have shaken the Spartan state: therefore was it judged expedient to deal mildly with him. It is certain that, about the very time when he was suffered to escape, several of the most warlike of the Helots were for some undivulged guilt cruelly put to death, even in the sanctuary where they had taken refuge. However, the lenity shewn to Pausanias did not inspire him with better sentiments. Steady to his wicked project, he contrived means to transmit sundry letters to Artabazus, and among the rest, trusted his dispatches to one Argilius, a creature of his own, and strongly attached to him. An ill-boding suspicion disturbed the breast of this man, because he had observed, that of all the couriers lately employed by Pausanias not one had returned: to

BOOK satisfy his apprehensions therefore, he opened the

VI. letters, in which he found a charge to Artabazus  
Sect. 2. to put him to death, in like manner as he had  
secured the secrecy of the other messengers. Affrighted at this, and exasperated against his master, he immediately discloses the whole matter to the Ephori, who being tender of condemning a person of Pausanias' consequence except on the strongest evidence, directed the witness to conceal his having applied to them, and to flee to a sanctuary, on pretence of dreading the resentment of Pausanias. As they expected, so it happened. Argilius having taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, Pausanias directly took the alarm, and hastened thither. His messenger confessed to him that he had opened the letters, and then breaking out into expostulations with him concerning the cruel orders of which he was to have been the victim, gave the Ephori, who were concealed in an inner room, the opportunity of hearing from Pausanias' own mouth a full confession of his treason. His sentence of condemnation was now inevitable. But this unhappy prince, conscious of guilt, and haunted with apprehensions, prevented the laws by fleeing for protection to the temple of Minerva. It had been an insult to religion to have forced him thence. Another expedient was therefore thought of. He was immured within the sacred walls, and starved to death, his own mother shewing her fellow citizens the example, and laying down the first stone at the temple gate. So much did the patriot-feeling at Sparta overpower even the struggles of a mother's tenderness!

IN the ruin of Pausanias domestic envy and the Spartan animosity conspired to involve Themistocles also, though impartial posterity has acquitted



quitted him of the imputation. The fortunes of B o o k  
 th's great Athenian are so connected with the VI.  
 history of the times in which he lived, that no Sect. 2.  
 apology seems necessary for pursuing them in  
 detail.

AFTER the allies had thrown off the Spartan yoke, Cimon, who now saw himself at the head of the Grecian confederacy, remained not inactive. He carried on the war in Thrace, where he reduced Eion, though garrisoned by a considerable body of Persians, and chastised certain of the bordering Thracians who had assisted the enemy. This siege is rendered memorable by the extraordinary behaviour of the governor, named Butes: he defended himself to the last extremity, when finding the place no longer tenable, he built up a pile, set it on fire, and consumed his treasures, his family, and himself, in the midst of it. It was well for the Greeks, there were not many *Buteses* in the service of Xerxes. By the fall of Eion the Athenians became masters of the important city of Amphipolis, of which Eion was the port and place of mart.

FROM Thrace Cimon passed over to the neighbouring island Scyros, on the Magnesian coast, whence he ejected the Dolopians, a people infamous for piracy, and in their room planted a colony of Athenians, in order to open the trade of the Egean sea. But what crowned these important services of Cimon was his fortunate discovery of the bones of Theseus. We have related in the history of that prince, who laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, that he ended his days in this island. Cimon therefore, having found out the spot where his bones lay, attended them to Athens with extraordinary pomp, and shew of the highest reverence.

**BOOK VI.** The precious remains were deposited in that city  
 VI. in a sumptuous monument, games were instituted  
 Sect. 2. on the occasion, and prizes proposed both to the  
 agonistic combatant, and to the poet who should  
 grace the solemnity by the finest dramatic performance. Several remarkable circumstances concurred to adorn this poetical contest. Cimon, and the other generals with him, disdained not to bestow the wreath with their own hands; and these men, who by their exploits abroad had so nobly advanced the glory of their country, now shewed (what we have already said was the particular praise of this illustrious people) that their delicacy of taste in literature was not less than their bravery in the day of battle. The extraordinary merits also of the disputants did singular honour to the festival. It was on this occasion that Sophocles, afterwards the great ornament of the Athenian stage, produced his first drama, and carried off the prize from Æschylus, who had long reigned without a rival. We are told, this change of fortune deeply affected the old poet: he immediately left Athens, and retiring to Sicily, ended his days there.

By these splendid entertainments, so well adapted to the genius of the Athenians, and consecrated besides to the memory of a prince they held so dear, Cimon was consulting the interests of his ambition; he was establishing himself in the hearts of his countrymen, of which Themistocles was daily losing his hold. The temper of these two competitors for fame was very different. Cimon open, liberal, courteous, possessed an infinite advantage over a man whose vanity rendered him burdensome even to his friends. Proud of his exploits, Themistocles made them his continual theme of discourse, and  
 was

was incessantly claiming a respect, which he hardly B o o k  
 could have missed of, but by claiming it. His VI.  
 self-sufficiency carried him even to the length of Sect. 2  
 erecting a temple, near his own house, to Diana  
*the inspirer of wise counsels*, in which he placed his  
 statue, as if he by the wisdom of his counsels had  
 saved his country. True, he had : but the proud  
 Athenians could not bear to be upbraided with it.  
 Cimon, who had always been a secret enemy of  
 his (for by his family connections he was naturally  
 engaged in the opposite party) saw this was the  
 opportunity for removing his formidable compe-  
 titor. The emissaries of Sparta likewise exerted  
 their utmost industry to procure his destruction.  
 Thus pursued, hated by the nobility, forsaken by Bes Christ  
 the people, was Themistocles, after all his eminent 473.  
 services, driven into banishment. Such is the  
 worth and stability of popular favour ! Plutarch  
 mentions a sensible observation to this purpose,  
 made by the father of Themistocles to his son,  
 when he was first courting political honours.  
 Pointing to some old galleys that lay on the  
 shore, ‘ Take notice,’ said he, ‘ thus are  
 ‘ ministers, when no longer necessary, re-  
 ‘ warded by the forgetful multitude.’ Historians  
 remark, to the honour of Aristides, that though  
 often much opposed and injured by Themistocles,  
 attached also by strong ties to Cimon, of whom  
 he had long been the protector and the friend, he  
 nevertheless absolutely refused to engage in this  
 ungenerous prosecution.

For some time our illustrious exile enjoyed a  
 peaceful retirement at Argos : but his enemies, the  
 Spartans especially, envied him even this. Pre-  
 tending to have found in the papers of Pausanias  
 some intelligence of a correspondence between  
 these two great leaders, they required that The-

mistocles



BOOK mistocles should be forced from his place of refuge, to abide his trial before the tribunal of the  
 VI. Sect. 2. Amphictyons. The truth was, Pausanias, on learning the disgrace of Themistocles, had partly opened his designs to him, advising him to revenge himself on his ungrateful country by soliciting the Persians to war : but the noble Athenian rejected the proposal, and would have dissuaded Pausanias from his base purpose. However the Spartans, whether they thirsted after the blood of this obnoxious man, or sought to throw off from themselves the reproach of Pausanias' treasons, earnestly urged the charge. Themistocles therefore, not daring to trust to the integrity of judges so prejudiced, made his escape out of Argolis ; and through various hazards, fleeing from place to place, to Sicily, to Corcyra, to Epirus, to Macedonia, to Asia Minor, exposed to a multiplicity of distresses, and often obliged to owe his safety to mean disguises, he at last reached the Persian court.

ARTAXERXES reigned at this time. His father Xerxes, after his unfortunate expedition against Greece, had confounded the peace of his royal house by the blackest incests and murders, and had at length perished by domestic treachery. Artabanus, one of his principal officers, imbrued his hands in the blood of his master, and had even projected to secure the imperial dignity to himself by destroying the whole family of the Achæmenidæ. But Providence preserved Artaxerxes, who was now seated on the throne of his fathers, when Themistocles came to Susa. Some contrivance was necessary to obtain admittance into the king's presence, which being effected, Themistocles thus discovered himself : ' I am,' said he, ' Themistocles the Athenian, persecuted  
 ' and

‘ and banished by the Greeks, and who, after all B o o k  
 ‘ the mischiefs I have wrought to Persia, am fled VI.  
 ‘ to thee for refuge. My fate is in thy hands. Sect. 2.  
 ‘ But remember, if thou destroyest me, thou  
 ‘ destroyest the enemy of Greece: in preserving  
 ‘ me, thou preservest to thyself an able and faith-  
 ‘ ful servant.’ Artaxerxes could not without  
 astonishment behold before him, in the low condi-  
 tion of a suppliant, a personage whose very name  
 had for a long time made all the nations of his  
 empire tremble. He was ordered to return the  
 next day, at which time, Artaxerxes before all  
 his court received him with the highest marks of  
 esteem and honour. He presented him to his  
 queens and concubines; he gave him two hundred  
 talents, the price that had been offered for his  
 head by the Persian court; and he bestowed on  
 him for a maintenance the revenue of three large  
 and opulent cities. It is said, the king was so  
 transported with joy at this unlooked-for event,  
 that on the night after the arrival of the illustrious  
 Grecian, he was observed to start frequently as he  
 slept, and to exclaim, ‘ I have Themistocles the  
 ‘ Athenian!’ And he was on many occasions  
 afterwards heard to pray to his god Arimanius,  
 that he would possess all his enemies with the like  
 frenzy of persecuting and banishing the bravest  
 men amongst them.

THE remaining days of Themistocles were  
 prosperous, as far as wealth and honours could  
 render them such: and except the mortifying re-  
 flection, that he was a dependant in a foreign land,  
 which to a man of his exalted soul, who held  
 liberty so precious, must have carried a sting in  
 his happiest hours, he enjoyed every thing his  
 fondest wishes could have in prospect. He had  
 the love and confidence of Artaxerxes; he was  
 admitted

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B o o k admitted even to his inmost thoughts ; so that in

VI. after time, when the Satraps would invite a Grecian  
Sect. 2. to Susa, they promised him, that he should live  
with the Great King as Themistocles the Athenian  
had lived with Artaxerxes. As to the manner of  
his death, it is related variously. Some pretend,  
that he put an end to his own life. But this  
account, so injurious to the memory of The-  
mistocles, is generally rejected by judicious writers.

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It is more credible, that he died of extreme distress  
of mind, his heart struggling between affection  
for his native country, and the gratitude he owed  
to his royal benefactor. For at this period of  
time the Athenians had made such an impression  
on several parts of the Persian empire, that Ar-  
taxerxes, apprehensive of the issue, had determined  
to raise extraordinary forces, and to send them,  
with Themistocles at their head, to oppose that  
formidable enemy. The hero of Salamis, injured  
as he was, could not bear the thought of appear-  
ing in battle against his countrymen : the anguish  
he suffered on the occasion is supposed to have  
shortened his days. Pausanias in his Antiquities  
of Greece tells us, that his bones were afterwards  
removed from the city of Magnesia, where he  
died, to the Piræus at Athens, and that the monu-  
ment erected to him subsisted to his time. Such  
was oftentimes the strange gratitude of Athens,  
honouring those when dead, whom living she had  
unjustly persecuted and oppressed.

Bef. Christ  
471.

WE now return to the general affairs of Greece.  
Cimon, on whom, Themistocles being removed,  
and Aristides advanced in years, the whole weight  
of government rested, sought to support his credit  
at home by the splendor of his exploits abroad.  
He sailed from Athens with a fleet of more than  
two hundred ships of war, and entering the  
Asiatic



Asiatic seas, routed and dispersed the Persians Book  
 wherever he met them, forced into their harbours, VI.  
 sunk their shipping, and effectually secured the Sect. 2.  
 liberties and tranquillity of all the Grecian colonies  
 in those parts. Affrighted at the progress of the  
 Athenian arms, the Persian admirals retired to Bef. Christ  
 Pamphylia, to the mouth of the Eurymedon, 470.  
 where their fleet, three hundred and fifty strong,  
 was supported by a considerable land army en-  
 camped near the shore. Cimon nevertheless pur-  
 sues them hither, and after a short engagement,  
 destroys this whole naval power, taking two  
 hundred of their ships; and then, even before his  
 men had wiped off the sweat and blood of this  
 action, commands them to make a descent, and  
 attack the enemy on land. A daring attempt this,  
 considering, these were fresh forces, were superior  
 in number, fought on firm ground, and had an  
 opportunity of charging regularly; whereas the  
 Grecians had already gone through the toils of  
 one battle, and were in danger of suffering from  
 the tumult and confusion that naturally attend a  
 debarkation. Soon however as the word was  
 given, they leap on shore, and sword in hand rush  
 on the enemy. Never had the Persians fought  
 better than on this occasion. They disputed the  
 ground inch by inch, they charged with vigour,  
 they rallied frequently; but all in vain: the forces  
 on land had the same fate with those at sea; they  
 were broken and dissipated, and after a prodigious  
 slaughter, the camp, with all the immense treasures  
 contained in it, fell into the hands of the victori-  
 ous Greeks. Thus in one day did Cimon obtain  
 two victories, equalled by historians to those of  
 Plataeæ and Salamis. And as if nothing was to  
 be wanting to complete his triumph, scarcely was  
 this over, when he had the good fortune to inter-  
cept

**B o o k**cept eighty Phœnician vessels, which were to

VI. have reinforced the Persians. It is said, that  
Sect. 2. after this deadly blow, the barbarians had  
neither courage nor strength left to them. And

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469. such was the terror that had taken possession of  
them, that the ensuing year, when they had a  
squadron of ships on the coast of Thrace, and  
their troops had overrun the Chersonesus, Cimon  
going thither with four gallies only, defeated  
them, took thirteen of their ships, obliged them  
to abandon the peninsula, and subjected the  
whole district to the Athenian commonwealth.

IT may be easily conceived, that a very great  
encrease of power and opulence to Athens would  
be the result of so many victories. That at  
Eurymedon especially gave much splendor to this  
illustrious city, most of the rich spoils taken from  
the Persians being applied to the constructing of  
noble and useful works. Cimon likewise, out of  
his portion of the plunder, greatly contributed to  
the improvement of Athens. He adorned the  
city with fine walks and stately porticoes; he set  
the forum around with palm trees; he laid out  
places for horse races and gymnastic exercise;  
and the academy also, so renowned in after ages  
on account of its philosophic school, he planted,  
and beautified with fountains. Such was the  
public spirit of this princely Athenian. In his  
earlier days, the wreck of his domestic fortune  
obliged him to retrench much of that bountiful-  
ness to which his natural temper inclined him;  
but now, blessed with abundant wealth, in this  
elegant manner did he share it with his country.  
His whole plan of life was in the same style of  
magnificence: his gardens were all thrown open  
for the use of the people, his table spread every  
day for the reception of the poorer citizens; and  
whenever

whenever he met an Athenian whose garb or Book  
countenance spoke distress, he took care that some VI.  
rich present should be privately conveyed to him. Sect. 2.  
Yet what is most admirable in all this, he sought  
not popular favour; steady in his principles of  
government, he warmly supported the interests of  
the nobility: it was his heart that dictated to him  
this noble use of riches; the good man delighted  
in diffusing joy and happiness.

THE flow of wealth, of which the state of  
Athens now became possessed, received a continu-  
ed supply from a new political establishment, the  
device of Cimon. According to the terms settled by  
Aristides, the confederate states were to serve person-  
ally in the wars against the Persians. But Cimon,  
perceiving that they performed this service with re-  
luctance, and desirous to aggrandize his country,  
proposed other measures. It was stipulated, that  
the confederates should pay additional contributi-  
ons in lieu of the forces they were to furnish, and  
that the whole burden of military preparations  
and the business of war should be borne by the  
Athenians. It is remarkable (so short a way  
human wisdom reaches) that both the one and the  
other were undone by this arrangement. To the  
Grecian states, who promised to themselves much  
ease and remission from martial toil, it became the  
source of a slothful inactivity; their bodies were  
enervated, the vigour of their spirit was lost, till  
from allies and equals they sunk into mere tribu-  
taries. By the same illusive scheme the Athenians,  
instead of establishing their empire more securely,  
impaired it: they engaged in unnecessary wars,  
they made distant conquests, they drained by  
frequent colonies the mother city of her industry  
and vital strength. It is true, the charge they  
had undertaken preserved among them the use of  
arms.



BOOK 2. But then, at the same time, they forgot

VI. those other virtues that had raised them to great-  
Sect. 2. ness; they forgot their mercy, their integrity,  
their temperance; they learned violence and oppression; they exacted payment of the contributions with too much loftiness, rather as a mark of homage than as a debt to the public weal; whilst those treasures, which were designed for the defence of Greece, were lavished away in works of show and public decoration, and in the end (as will always happen) in private luxury. In a word, the deliverers of Greece became her ravagers; and envy and hatred, the sure attendants of power abused, closely pursued and overtook them. The fate of the Athenians however is not singular: the greatest nations of the earth have trod the same road, proceeding by a gradation which one would be tempted to call inevitable, from difficulty and distress, to prosperity, to insolence, to decay and final subversion.

THE people of Athens soon gave proof, what a fatal trust had been reposed in them. The Naxians refused to pay the tax assessed; and immediately were they treated as revolted subjects; their cities were stormed, their island laid waste, their sons and daughters sold to bondage. Soon after, they of Thasus felt the weight of the Athenian arms. They had *insolently* assumed a kind of independency, and had dared to seize on the rich Thracian mines of which they were antiently possessed. War therefore was denounced against them; and notwithstanding their numerous fleets and their bravery in battle, though for three years they defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy, their very women losing their natural timorousness in their concern for their country, and exposing their lives for her safety, the Athenians  
nevertheless

nevertheless prevailed at last, and deprived them of their territories, their treasures, their shipping, dismantled their places of strength, and left them a weak and humbled people. B o o k VI. Sect. 2.

WITH great reluctance the excellent Cimon took on himself the conduct of these expeditions, compelled to it by the impetuosity of his countrymen, which he sought therefore to direct against a foreign enemy, as soon as an opportunity presented itself. Such a one was found in the revolt of Inarus of Lybia and Amyrtæus the Egyptian against Artaxerxes, which insurgents applying to Athens for assistance, received a supply of two hundred ships with a large body of forces. But whilst Cimon was exerting his endeavours to make the Athenian name terrible in distant countries, faction and intrigue had been at work at home. A strong party was formed against him under two popular leaders, both of great abilities, Pericles and Ephialtes; the latter a bold, enterprising, violent man, of the strictest integrity in the administration of the public money, and who made use of this very praise as a sure instrument to effect his ambitious purposes. Pericles, rich and noble, had to his father Xanthippus, who commanded the Athenians at Mycale; his mother was of the family of the great Clithenes. Nature and education had conspired to bestow on him whatever adorns and recommends, excellent parts, a mind highly cultured, a winning countenance, an insinuating address: as a statesman, he was profound; as a speaker, powerful beyond any that Athens had ever yet beheld; he was besides an able general, wise in council, brave in battle. What a blessing might this man have proved, if he had placed himself under a guide less treacherous than ambition! Swayed by this principle, as the nobility

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BOOK lity stood with Cimon, Pericles devoted himself  
 VI. to the party of the people, and he and Ephialtes  
 Sect. 2. wrought together.

THEIR first step was to corrupt the multitude, by rendering them luxurious and venal. They proposed, that the expence of shews and theatrical entertainments should be defrayed out of the public revenues ; that the salaries should be raised of those who attended in the judicial courts ; that the lands of the commonwealth should be divided among the poorer citizens. This, with a view of emulating Cimon's munificence : they could not contend with him in wealth, and therefore was the fortune of the state called in to assist their selfish purposes. The object of their next attempt was to bring into disrepute the court of Areopagus, to traduce it as a tribunal governed by the nobles, and consequently dangerous to the liberties of the people, and to divest those venerable senators of the right of judging on appeals ; thus from unworthy private views removing that ancient pillar of government, on which the commonwealth had so long rested in safety.

MATTERS now seemed ripe for an attack on Cimon, rendered more obnoxious by his avowed opposition to these innovations, and particularly by his strenuous defence of the Areopagus ; and accordingly a formal accusation was preferred against him. He had reduced Thasus, which opened to his country the dominion of the Thracian mines, and of the territories adjacent. Nevertheless, as if every nation was to bend the knee before Athens, Pericles impeached him, because when he was on the frontiers of Macedon, he had not also carried the war into that kingdom, and charged him with having received presents from the Macedonian king. Cimon's answer was plain



plain and honest. ‘ War unprovoked appeared to  
 ‘ him robbery and oppression: the Macedonians  
 ‘ were a nation just, modest, honourable, friends  
 ‘ to Athens, and void of all artful disguises: he  
 ‘ was himself a stranger to corruption; but their  
 ‘ virtues had restrained his arms, and taught him  
 ‘ to respect the peace and rights of a people alto-  
 ‘ gether blameless.’ Whether the force of his  
 defence made its due impression on the hearers,  
 or Pericles was ashamed of urging the iniquitous  
 prosecution, certain it is, Cimon was acquitted.

His indefatigable adversaries however did not  
 long suffer him to be at rest. Whilst Cimon was  
 abroad at Thasus, the Lacedemonians were re-  
 duced to the utmost distress. An earthquake had  
 laid Sparta in ruins, five houses only remaining.  
 The Messenians and Helotæ taking advantage of  
 the conjuncture, rose in arms, and probably would  
 that day have put an end to the Spartan name,  
 had not the vigilance of king Archidamus saved  
 his country. He was of the race of the Eurypon-  
 tidæ, and had succeeded to his grandfather Leo-  
 tychides, who died in banishment. Amidst the  
 general consternation, he saw what dangers were  
 to be apprehended from the slaves, a body so nu-  
 merous and wretched, and likely to seize the op-  
 portunity of revenging the late bloody executions.  
 Causing an alarm therefore to be sounded, as if  
 an enemy were at hand, he drew out the citi-  
 zens; thus at once preventing their being crushed  
 under the falling buildings, and shewing to the  
 Helotæ a force prepared for battle. His prudence  
 was so far successful, that the slaves retired with-  
 out further mischief to the Messenian borders,  
 where they seized on Ithome, and fortified it  
 against their masters. The Spartans were now  
 beset with many urging difficulties: their capital

BOOK was no more; a formidable revolt prevailed  
 VI. throughout Laconia; and an enemy, hardy and  
 Sect. 2. exasperated by grievous wrongs, had got possession of a place, which in ages past had for years baffled the Spartan power. In this distress, they applied to Athens for succour, but found a strenuous opposition from Ephialtes and his party: these men represented the unkindness of Sparta to Athens experienced in many memorable instances, her treacherous leagues, and insidious friendships; and the people, who hated the Spartan government, gladly approved of the ungenerous counsel. Soon after, on Cimon's return, the Spartans renewed their suit, and being supported by Cimon—for he much esteemed their manners, and employed in their behalf all the influence that remained to him—they obtained that a body of forces should march against Ithome. But so it happened, they who were besieging that place, conceiving some suspicion of these new auxiliaries, instead of receiving them as friends, sent them back disgracefully. It mattered not what was the motive to this treatment: the effect was a high resentment on the part of the Athenians, which discharged itself first on Cimon, the advocate for the Spartans: him, at the instigation of Pericles, they banished. They then proceeded to remove to their own capital the Grecian treasure deposited in Delos, under pretence that the Lacedemonians, whom they now accused of the worst designs, would plunder that island. This removal was expressly contrary to the original stipulation, solemnly sworn to by Aristides in the name of the Athenians, with dire imprecations on those who should violate it; which objection being now urged to that patriot, 'Let the  
 ' curse then light on Aristides, and let Athens  
 ' prosper !'

‘ prosper ! ’ was his memorable answer. The man that would not have done wrong, to have purchased to himself the riches of Artaxerxes, was capable of committing a flagrant act of injustice from a mistaken zeal for his country ! He died soon after, and (a proof of his integrity) so poor, that he did not leave enough to defray the charges of his interment.

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THE resentment of the Athenians against Sparta stopped not here : to shew their hatred in a manner yet more decisive, they engaged in alliance with those of Argos, the inveterate enemies of the Spartan state, who, availing themselves of the confusion of affairs, had laid siege to Mycenæ, and rased it to the ground. We had occasion to mention formerly, what it was that brought on the ruin of this ancient city. At the time of the Persian invasion, when the states of Argolis refused to make opposition against the barbarians, the Myceneans alone leagued with Sparta, and in a signal manner exerted themselves in defence of the common liberties : therefore had the Argives sworn their destruction. And surely it may well be accounted one, not the least, of the evils consequent upon these wicked domestic wars, that a city of such dignity, renowned from the earliest days of Greece, and which had so nobly approved her faith and virtue at a season of utmost peril, should on account of that very merit be suffered to fall a victim to the malice of an iniquitous neighbour.

THE Spartans, though much of their attention was occupied for the space of ten years together with the war against their slaves and the remains of the Messenian nation at Ithome, kept Athens still in view, and endeavoured to excite against her the suspicions and jealousy of the rest of



BOOK Greece; whilst the Athenians, equally inimical

VI. to Sparta, took every opportunity of humbling  
Sect. 2. her and her confederates. So that, state was now divided against state, some new commotion incessantly breaking out, and every slight surmise affording excuse for hostilities. First, the Corinthians and Epidaurians ventured to contend with Athens in naval combat, and in one engagement they obtained some advantage: but this success was of short continuance; another engagement followed, when they were totally defeated. The Athenians then invaded Ægina, whose inhabitants they suspected of having assisted the Corinthians: the Æginetæ, confiding in a considerable marine, refused to humble themselves, which proved their ruin; they lost their fleet, and were compelled to receive the yoke of their conquerors. The Corinthians recovered strength enough soon after to attack the Megareans, who were in amity with Athens; but met with a second defeat. All these attempts to check the Athenian power contributed only to augment it. And yet, at this time, the Athenians had only a divided strength, part of their armies and fleets being still abroad in Egypt.

MORE important events now succeeded. The Lacedæmonians and their confederates, mortified to see the fortune of Athens every where triumphant, endeavoured to recover their lost importance, by marching an army out of Peloponnesus to support the Dorians against the people of Phocis. The Athenians, on the other hand, with a fleet of fifty galleys sailed to the Isthmus, where landing fourteen thousand men, they seized the pass, with intent to cut off the retreat of the Spartan force. This rendered a battle inevitable. It was fought at Tanagra, a city of Bœotia, and ended

ended in the defeat of the Athenians by the misconduct of the Theſſalian horſe, who deſerted them in the beginning of the action. A remarkable circumſtance there happened on this occaſion, which may ſerve to evince, how unhappy to a ſtate is the ſpirit of faction and diſcord. Cimon, though an exile, could not bear to know there was danger to his country, without ſharing it: on the day of battle therefore he took his place, completely armed, among thoſe of his tribe. But the oppoſite party raiſing a clamour, and pretending that a man, whoſe heart was for Sparta, could not be truſted, Cimon thought it expedient to retire, though not without firſt addreſſing himſelf to his companions, in number about one hundred, and beſeeching them, that they would on that day behave in ſuch a manner as to wipe off the unkind aſperſion, and prove to Athens that there was neither treachery in Cimon nor in his friends. Their answer was a requeſt to Cimon, that ſince he was not permitted to lead them the way to victory, he would at leaſt leave his armour with them; which having placed in the miſt of their little body, they charged among the thickeſt of the enemy, and after many ſignal exploits were all ſlain. The tide of popular humour was quickly turned by ſuch an incident: the miſfortunes of Cimon were ſpoken of with compaſſion, his loyalty with rapture. Pericles perceived the change, and caught at the praiſe of candour by affecting to become the advocate for Cimon, and by drawing up with his own hand the decree which reverſed his ſentence of baniſhment.

THE victory at Tanagra was to the Spartans the cauſe of much exultation, as it encouraged them to vindicate ſome portion of that ſovereignty from which they were fallen. They therefore re-

BOOK received the Thebans under their protection ; and  
 VI. that there might be a power without the Isthmus  
 Sect 2. able to make head against Athens, they instated  
 Thebes in all the privileges she had forfeited by  
 her scandalous defection to the Persians, restoring  
 her to her ancient dignity, and her pre-eminence  
 over all the Bœotian states. An insult of this na-  
 ture the Athenians could not bear : with an army  
 hastily drawn together, they marched into Bœo-  
 tia, attacked the Thebans and their allies, though  
 superior far in strength, and gained an entire  
 victory. This is spoken of by some historians, as  
 one of the most glorious the Athenians ever ob-  
 tained. Myronides, who commanded on this oc-  
 casion, knew how to make a proper use of his  
 success : he stormed Tanagra, and laid it in ruins,  
 as if it had been a crime in that city even to have  
 been witness of the defeat of his countrymen ; he  
 ravaged all Bœotia, after beating a second army  
 which the Bœotians brought together ; obliged  
 the Locri of Opus to give him hostages ; and  
 finally entering Thessaly, severely chastised the in-  
 habitants for their perfidious desertion.

THIS course of prosperity, it may well be sup-  
 posed, did not lessen the ambition and pride of  
 the Athenian people : the following year, Tol-  
 mides offered with a small force to invade even  
 Laconia itself. The proposal was accepted, a  
 descent was made on several parts with much de-  
 vastation, Gythium was taken and burnt with all  
 the shipping and naval stores contained in it. The  
 admiral's next exploit was to reduce Zacynthus,  
 from which island he passed on to Naupactus,  
 ejected the Locri Ozolæ whose it was, and settled  
 the exiled Messenians in their stead. Scarcely  
 had Tolmides left the Peloponnesian coast, when  
 Pericles with another fleet and fresh troops appear-  
 ed



ed to complete the devastation of the country, Book  
taking, plundering, and burning whatever places VI.  
he attempted. Nor indeed did the Spartans make Sect. 2.  
opposition. Continual losses and a long wasting  
war had broken their spirit; and they did not  
dare even to appear before an enemy, under  
whose banners Victory seemed now to have taken  
up her abode.

CIMON, that excellent man, beheld with deep  
concern these fatal triumphs, which gave present  
empire to Athens, but at the same time brought  
desolation and weakness on Greece in general. He  
endeavoured to inspire his fellow citizens with  
better thoughts, and to put an end to these ruin-  
ous invasions. At length his remonstrances had  
effect: he was so happy as to conclude a five  
years' truce between Athens and Sparta, and to  
engage the Athenians rather to seek glory by  
weakening the common enemy of Greece. It was  
determined to attack the barbarians; against  
whom accordingly a powerful force was appoint-  
ed, with a fleet of two hundred gallies, the whole  
under the command of Cimon. Part of these he  
immediately ordered to Egypt, where the Athe-  
nian fortune had undergone a strange revolution.

IN the beginning, the success of the Athenians  
had been great: they had defeated all that ap-  
peared against them, and in one battle only had  
slain an hundred thousand of the barbarians, with  
Achæmenides, brother to the Great King, and  
his general in those parts; so that the total loss of  
Egypt seemed to follow, and such were the appre-  
hensions of Artaxerxes, that he even solicited the  
Spartans with the offer of an immense largess, to  
invade the Attic territories, and oblige that enter-  
prising people to abandon Egypt. Indeed the do-  
mestic circumstances of Sparta did not allow a  
compliance

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Bef. Christ  
458.

BOOK compliance with the propofal at this time, the

VI. Meffenian revolt diftrefling her forely. However  
Sect. 2. the king's affairs in Egypt had foon another af-

Bef. Chrift  
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pect. Abler commanders, with more numerous  
forces, were fent in the room of Achæmenides;  
the Athenians were preffed, their fhips destroyed,  
their troops wafled, and in a word, the remains  
of this once victorious army were moft of them  
difperfed and loft in the Lybian wilds, through

Bef. Chrift  
454.

which they endeavoured to make their way back  
into Greece. Inarus, who had encouraged the  
rebellion, was taken and crucified. Amyrtæus  
escaped to the Fens, to the ifland of Elbo, where  
he ftill maintained a fhew of fovereignty, and a  
languid kind of war. And to his affiftance did

Bef. Chrift  
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Cimon now fend a part of his fhips. With the re-  
mainder he failed to Cyprus, and took Salus and  
Citium; thence he went in fearch of the Phœni-  
cian fleet, defeats them, makes to the coaft of  
Cilicia, lands his men, engages and beats the  
army under Megabyzus that was encamped there,  
and failing back to Cyprus, lays fieve to Salamis,  
the capital of the ifland.

THUS attacked on every fide, in Cilicia, in Cy-  
prus, in Egypt; by fea, by land, and that by a  
people whole very name had terror in it, and led  
on by a general whole former exploits were but  
too well remembered, the humbled Perfian at  
length fued for peace. The death of Themifto-  
cles, which happened fome time before, on whom  
the king had placed very much of his dependence,  
contributed not a little to haften his purpofe of  
concluding the war, which he commiffioned his

Bef. Chrift  
449.

lieutenants to do on any conditions. Accordingly  
the terms of peace were fuch, as fufficiently fhew  
what the Athenians were in thofe glorious days.  
' The Greek cities of Affa were all declared free  
' and

‘ and independent. The Persians were not to B o o k  
 ‘ presume to send an armed force within three VI.  
 ‘ days’ journey of the sea : nor were any of their Sect. 2.  
 ‘ ships of war to sail from the Cyanean rocks, at  
 ‘ the entrance of the Black Sea, to the Cheli-  
 ‘ donian islands, which lay off the Pamphylian  
 ‘ coast.’ And on these conditions did the Athe-  
 nians stipulate, that ‘ neither would they invade  
 ‘ any of the provinces of the Persian empire.’  
 From those days, never did the Persians attempt  
 more to subdue Greece by arms : they found out  
 a method less hazardous ; they employed intrigue  
 and golden bribes ; they encouraged jealousy and  
 contention among the several states, and by  
 assisting one against the other, wasted the strength  
 of all.

WHILST this treaty was concluding, Cimon  
 died at Citium, as it were, in the arms of victory.  
 When he found his end approaching, he called  
 the principal commanders, and made it his last  
 request, that they should conceal his death, lest,  
 if known to the enemy at that critical juncture, it  
 might prove prejudicial to his country. It is need-  
 less to enlarge much on the character of this ex-  
 cellent man. We have seen him in war, in peace ;  
 in the one, a faithful upright minister, and except  
 that unhappy prosecution of Themistocles, in  
 which he had too great a share, a stranger to all the  
 mean arts wherein ambition is conversant. And  
 what most deserves admiration, never did man  
 love his country with more sincere affection : he  
 loved her for her own sake ; he loved her with a  
 view not to make *himself* great, but to make *her*  
 prosperous and happy ; he opposed her vanity, he  
 blamed her oppressions, he thwarted her froward  
 humours, even at the expence of his own safety,  
 and to the utmost of his power saved her from the  
 guilt



BOOK guilt and stain of domestic blood. In war likewise

VI. he had all the abilities, the calmness, and resolution, that denominate the hero: never did soldier fight more successfully, never did general make a better use of success. With all this, the more exalted feelings of the heart were his: he had every virtue of which his piety to his father had given an early presage; merciful, generous, melting at the distresses of his fellow creature, and happy in the goods of fortune, only because they gave him an opportunity of making others happy.

THE misfortunes, that followed when he was no more, sufficiently attest the worth of this extraordinary person. Athens soon found, that in Cimon she had lost her ablest counsellor, and her truest friend.

## B O O K VI.

## SECTION I.

**T**HE administration of Pericles, on which **Book** we are now to enter, forms the most brilliant period of the Athenian annals, if the meed of fame is to be assigned to the spirit and grandeur of public enterprises, abstracted from utility. It had been the affectionate and perpetual counsel of Cimon to his countrymen, ‘not to oppress and ‘destroy, but to heal and unite.’ Pericles chose another plan of government. He was a man, though in arms not inferior to Cimon, and in brightness of parts and fine improvements of mind far before him, yet in most other respects the reverse of that virtuous statesman; sacrificing his country to his ambition, lavish of the public treasure to win the suffrages of the multitude, seeking to establish his power even on the ruins of the common felicity, and scheming destructive wars, that he might avail himself of the confusion.

THE

VI.  
Sect. 1.  
Bef. Christ  
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BOOK VI. THE fatal influence of this kind of spirit was soon felt. The Phocians had made sacrilegious attempts on the privileges of the people of Delphi, by invading the custody of the Pythian temple; the Lacedemonians marched an army in support of the Delphians; Athens of course espoused the Phocian party, sending assistance to the oppressors, without much regard to the delicacy of religious scruple; and all this, the five years' truce still subsisting: but both they of Sparta and they of Athens disavowed their being *principals* in the war; and so, by a cobweb distinction not unlike the refinement of modern times, was the compact of peace supposed entire. This is known by the name of the Second Sacred War.

OTHER wrongs, and other expeditions, now followed in quick succession one after the other. Bœotia was invaded again, but with ill success; for Tolmides paid the price of a rash attack with his life, his army was routed, nor did the Athenians recover their prisoners till they had solemnly renounced all sovereignty over the Bœotian cities. The revolt of Eubœa brought on new troubles, for the suppressing of which Pericles had just passed over into that island, when news of the defection of the Megareans obliged him to hasten back to the defence of Attica. The people of Megara, impatient of the insolent and oppressive demeanor of Athens towards her confederates, had renounced her alliance for that of Sparta; and the Spartans, the truce being now expired, were on their march towards the Attic borders to support the Megareans. Plistoanax commanded the Spartans on this occasion: he was son to the famed Pausanias, and had succeeded to the throne in the room of his cousin Plistarchus, who died without issue. Such a state of affairs might have distressed



distressed a less able statesman ; but Pericles was **Book** ingenious in devising resources : by a present **VI.** properly applied he checked the martial order of **Sect. 1.** the young king, and the Spartans were made to retreat without fighting. It is said, -that ten talents effected this. Neither is the present the only instance occurring in history, that the Lacedæmonians were capable of being corrupted. Leotychides, Pausanias, and many others shew us, that the lust of riches had wrought its way into Sparta, notwithstanding the strong ramparts Lycurgus had raised against it. However, Plistoanax was banished. The recess of the Spartans left Pericles at leisure to pursue the Eubœan war, which he did with great vigour ; so that having in a short time reduced the whole island, he modelled the government anew, establishing a democracy, and entirely ejected the people of Histiaæa, who had been foremost in the defection. Soon after, a truce was concluded with Sparta for thirty years.

PERICLES was now raised to that high summit, **Bef. Christ** which his ambitious hopes had long had in pro- **446.** spect. Athens was become the dread and admiration of all the nations around : her dominion reached from the Euxine to the sea of Crete, from the coasts of Asia to the Adriatic gulph ; mighty potentates courted her friendship ; she counted scarcely less than an hundred states among her tributaries. And this splendor of empire Pericles enjoyed : he was sole at the head of this powerful commonwealth ; and all the persons, who could either have shared his honours, or counteracted his designs, were no more. Tolmides, Myronides, were dead : Ephialtes, that useful friend of his, had been assassinated by the contrary party : the nobles were all humbled ; and Thucydides,

BOOK Thucydides, the last of them that durst stand

VI. against him, had been banished by sentence of  
Sect. 1. ostracism, and had obtained leave to return, only on condition that he should no longer oppose his measures. The people likewise, that haughty high-spirited people, he had charmed into subjection. His irresistible eloquence, his gratifying them by leading out frequent colonies of the poorer citizens, and assigning them rich possessions, his largesses out of the treasury, the sumptuous shews, the musical and scenic entertainments of all kinds which he exhibited to them, the splendid ornaments with which he enriched their city, temples, baths, porticoes, theatres, statues, paintings; all these, though at the same time the very vitals of the state were drawn out for the execution of them, acquired him the love of a people, too much addicted to pomp and elegance, and passionate admirers of works of taste and delicacy. Then besides, this public magnificence produced emulation in private life: the houses of Athens were become palaces, and her citizens princes: every where was profuseness gaining ground, in their dress, in their feasts, in their furniture, in their equipages. These vicious manners were useful to Pericles; they rendered the Athenians needy and dependent; they diverted the activity of the upper class of citizens, from forming intrigues against him, to the humble employment of seeking materials for luxury.

INDEED it must be acknowledged, in some things the statesman, whose character we are describing, had the real strength of Athens in view. The walls, five miles in length, which joined the Pirean harbour to the city, though begun by Cimon, were finished by him: and to his glory

it

it is recorded, that he enclosed the whole Thracian B o o k  
 Chersonesus with stupendous works, which effect- VI.  
 tually secured the Athenian colonies in the region Sect. 1.  
 against the inroads of their neighbours. Never-  
 theless, for the most part, little else did he consult  
 besides shew and ornament. It is hardly to be  
 conceived, what immense sums he expended in  
 this manner during an administration of fifteen  
 years (for so long a time did he govern solely) and  
 what various works he planned and completed;  
 works of that exquisite contrivance and finished  
 beauty, that, if Plutarch may be believed, all the  
 structures and all the decorations of Rome even  
 to the time of the Cæsars, when her sceptre  
 stretched over the greatest part of the known  
 world, had nothing to compare, in greatness  
 either of design or expence, with the lustre of  
 those which Pericles alone executed at Athens.

WHEN we are told, that to a public conduct  
 thus specious were added in private life many solid  
 virtues; that the manners of this illustrious  
 Athenian were frugal, strict, reserved; his hands  
 uncontaminated by iniquitous gains; that of all  
 that immense wealth which he administered, no  
 portion was he ever known to apply to the en-  
 crease of his private fortune, or the support of his  
 private excesses; when we view him only on this  
 side, we are not surprised to hear him spoken of  
 by many writers of antiquity, as a man of great  
 virtue and integrity unblemished. But unhappily  
 the other side of his character presents a shew of  
 defects, as important at least as his good qualities;  
 among which defects ambition is the most pro-  
 minent. He sought to govern Athens. For this  
 purpose he opened the exchequer to the craving  
 multitude, he gratified their passions, he fed their  
 voluptuousness, he multiplied their wants. The  
 very



BOOK very virtues which he possessed, undid his country. V. It was his coolness of judgment improved by Sect. 2. temperate living, it was his brightness of parts cultivated by philosophy and retirement, that rendered him the more dangerous ; and by these arts he raised himself to power. How great was that power, we may judge from the following instance.

PSAMMETICUS of Egypt had sent a present of corn to the Athenian people ; which circumstance induced an enquiry, who were entitled to the privileges of Athenian citizens. Pericles took the opportunity of indulging his animosity against the family of Cimon, who married an Arcadian woman, by preferring a decree, whereby all persons, not of Athenian blood both by father and mother, should be disfranchised. This cruel ordinance had he the hardness to propose, and the people the servility and tameness to pass into a law. It is said, that under colour of this law near five thousand persons were stript of their freedom. One curious particular has been transmitted to us in consequence of this memorable ordinance, that the Athenian citizens polled on the occasion amounted to no more than fourteen thousand and forty : an astonishing paucity, when we reflect to what an height of empire this people had now ascended !

PERICLES however was not unaware, how much the arts of luxury, introduced by his administration into Athens, tended to relax the martial temper of the inhabitants, and to encourage other states to attempt their destruction. As a wise politician therefore, he provided against the mischief by not suffering his people to remain inactive. Every year he equipped a fleet of eighty galleys, manned with the chosen youths of Athens: these he sent to cruise in the Grecian seas, to awe the tributary states, to visit and protect their foreign colonies,

to

to make shew of the Athenian strength, and to **Book**  
 impress terror and reverence on distant nations. VI.  
 Thus, in the midst of splendor and opulence, care **Sect. 1.**  
 was taken, that military order and naval skill  
 should be kept alive. The Athenians soon had  
 occasion to exert both.

NEAR the Asiatic coast was Samos, a rich **Bef. Christ**  
 fertile island, inhabited by one of the most power- 443-  
 ful nations in those parts. A war broke out be-  
 tween the Samians and those of Miletus concern-  
 ing the city Priene, in which the Milesians being  
 worsted, applied to Athens for assistance, and  
 with them certain of the Samians also, who  
 disliked the aristocratical government then estab-  
 lished at Samos. Both these states were under  
 the protection of Athens. The Athenians there-  
 fore commanded both to desist from further hosti-  
 lities, and wait their decision ; a command which  
 the Samians, flushed with victory, refused to obey.  
 War was in consequence denounced against them,  
 and Pericles had orders without delay to chastise  
 the rebellious islanders. He performed this service  
 without difficulty : their principal cities were  
 taken, their laws abrogated, a democracy intro-  
 duced, a garrison set over them, and fifty persons  
 of distinction, with as many children of noble  
 birth, delivered to him as hostages. It appears,  
 that the Samians omitted no means to soften their  
 merciless conqueror ; they humbled themselves,  
 they entreated, they offered large sums : even  
 Pissuthnes, governor of Sardis, interceded in their  
 behalf, and would have paid ten thousand pieces  
 to purchase their pardon—but all to no pur-  
 pose—Pericles was inexorable. These violent  
 proceedings had the effect, which violent proceed-  
 ings generally have. Pericles being departed, the  
 oppressed party rose in arms, ejected the Athenian  
 garrison,

**B o o k** garrison, recovered their hostages, and re-established  
 VI. their antient government. Presently Pericles

**Sect. 1.** appears again before Samos, and besieges it by  
 sea and land, but is obliged to sail away with part  
 of his fleet to give battle to a Phœnician squadron  
 sent to the relief of the Samians. During his  
 absence, the besieged had the fortune, in a sally,  
 to defeat the forces he left behind him. But this

**Bas. Christ** was only a gleam of success. Pericles returned  
 439. victorious; and the unhappy Samians, deprived  
 of all hopes of succour, were, after a nine  
 months' siege, obliged to surrender: their walls  
 were demolished, their shipping taken away, and  
 a severe fine, equal to the expence which the  
 Athenians had sustained, imposed on them.

THE success of this war, so fatal to a state, in  
 might and martial virtue accounted equal almost  
 to Athens herself, contributed very much to render  
 the Athenians more haughty and more envied. The  
 confederate nations beheld with horror that city,  
 which was once the protectress of liberty and the  
 champion of Greece, threatening devastation to  
 all who presumed to dispute her commands. Even  
 in Athens itself luxury had not made so absolute  
 a conquest over all generosity of sentiment, but  
 there were found several, especially after this  
 catastrophe of the Samian state, who openly avow-  
 ed their detestation of these violent measures.  
 Plutarch tells us, that on the very day when  
 Pericles, according to custom, pronounced the  
 funeral panegyric of such as had fallen in the  
 course of the war, as he was descending from  
 the orator's place amidst the acclamations of the  
 multitude, numbers even of the Athenian ladies  
 crouding about him and crowning him with gar-  
 lands, Elpinice, sister to Cimon, had the reso-  
 lution publicly to reproach him with his destructive  
 victories ;



victories; ‘obtained,’ said she, ‘not against the  
 ‘natural enemies of our country, in wars such as VII.  
 ‘my brother Cimon waged, but against a city in Sect. I.  
 ‘alliance with us, inhabited by a people sprung  
 ‘from the same stock, and speaking the same  
 ‘language.’

NEVERTHELESS the splendor of these conquests, a splendor in which indeed every people is but too apt to place their glory, still preserved to Pericles much favour and admiration; and he continued, as before, adding to the domestic magnificence of Athens, and rendering her respected and feared abroad. Thus affairs went on, till at length the growing vanity, the haughtiness, and ambition of the Athenians on the one hand, and the envy and various resentments of the Grecian states on the other, brought on a war, which tried the strength of this specious fabric, and has left to succeeding ages the instructive lesson, that no empire can be of long duration, which is not founded in moderation, justice, and virtue. The war we speak of is the *Peloponnesian*, one of the most interesting in the records of history, whether we consider the length or the issue of it, whether the reputation and martial skill of the nations that contended, or the earnest struggle with which the victory was contended for. The events, which opened the way to this revolution of things, have a just claim to the reader’s attention.

IN Illyricum, on the Ionian or Adriatic gulph, was Epidamnus (afterwards called Dyrrhachium) a city founded by the Corcyreans. Some civil dissensions having involved the Epidamnians in an intestine war, the weaker party addressed themselves in suppliant manner first to those of Corcyra, and then (the Corcyreans not regarding

B o o k their suit) to Corinth, the foundress of the Corcy-  
 VII. rean people. The Corinthians, in consequence  
 Sect. 1. of the rights usually claimed by a parent state  
 over its several colonies, received the supplicants  
 under their protection, vindicated Epidamnus  
 from the insults of the opposite faction, and sent  
 thither a new supply of inhabitants. This seem-  
 ed a grievous indignity to the Corcyreans, who,  
 encreased in power, had long since disdained any  
*filial* dependence on Corinth : they immediately  
 laid siege to Epidamnus ; and at the same time ap-  
 pointed an embassy to the Corinthians to require,  
 that they should desist entirely from intermeddling  
 in the affairs of a city, in the government of  
 which they had no concern. But the Corinthians  
 rejecting the demand, and ordering a fleet to the  
 assistance of the besieged, the Corcyreans met  
 them off the promontory of Actium, defeated  
 them, forced Epidamnus to surrender, put to the  
 sword all the natives found in it, and made the  
 Corinthians prisoners of war ; and being now mas-  
 ters at sea, infested, ravaged, and burned several  
 colonies and confederate cities of Corinth, lying  
 on the Ionian gulph. Exasperated by these inju-  
 ries, not less than by the wrongs done to the op-  
 pressed Epidamnians, the Corinthians renewed  
 their preparations, raised troops in divers parts of  
 Greece, and equipped a navy much more power-  
 ful than the former.

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ARMAMENTS so formidable obliged the Corcy-  
 reans to devise new means of defence : they de-  
 puted ambassadors to Athens to solicit an alliance,  
 and to demand aid. Neither were the Corinthians  
 idle spectators of this important negotiation :  
 their ambassadors followed those of Corcyra, and  
 employed their utmost industry to traverse the  
 proceeding,

proceeding, alledging to the assembly of the people, that there was peace between Athens and Corinth, nor could the Athenians make a league with Corcyra, without departing from the terms of the treaty then subsisting. And at first the plea of Corinth was favourably received: but afterwards, political considerations intervening, it was determined to conclude an alliance with the Corcyreans, on the terms of mutually defending whichever state should be attacked. The consequence was a Corinthian war. For a squadron of Athenian ships having joined the fleet of Corcyra, and an engagement ensuing between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, they of Athens not only assisted the Corcyreans as the battle pressed hard on them, but also officiously fought out and assailed the Corinthians. And soon after were orders likewise sent from Athens to Potidæa, a tributary city of theirs on the Thermaic gulph, whose faith they suspected, because it was originally a Corinthian colony, and still received its magistrates annually from Corinth, to demolish their walls on the side of Pallene, to eject their magistrates, and give hostages. The Potidæans endeavoured much to deprecate this rigorous sentence; but finding entreaties ineffectual, they resolved to disavow all submission to Athens, and to abide any hazards rather than to be thus despoiled of their liberties. Perdicas of Macedonia, it is said, who was extremely jealous of the Athenian power, and conceived himself injured in many instances by that people, encouraged the defection of the Potidæans. This in the natural order of things brought on a war in those parts: the Athenians asserted their right of dominion, and Potidæa was invested.

B o o k  
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**B o o k**    Such bold attempts alarmed most of the Grecian states. Corinth, the barrier of Peloponnesus, VII. and its only protection by sea, attacked; Potidæa Sect. 1. besieged; Macedonia threatened; and what was yet far worse, Athens, already too formidable, strengthened by the accession of the Corcyreans, a people brave, and mighty in naval force—all these things were thought to have a dark, lowering aspect. A general assembly therefore of the several states that apprehended danger to themselves, the Bœotians, the Megareans, the Locri Ozolæ and of Opus, the people of Ambracia, of Leucate and Anactorium, the Arcadians, the Eleans, the Pellenians, was held at Sparta, where the Corinthians in the most pathetic manner represented, ‘how dreadful the power of Athens was, how daring and active her genius, how unjust and oppressive her dominion: dependence and bondage impended over Greece: an absolute necessity existed for all the states there combined, to unite forthwith in war against an aspiring people, whose ambition knew no bounds, who fought and conquered only with a view of tempting other enterprises, and acquiring other conquests.’

THIS discourse inflamed the minds of men, already prepared for angry counsels. And though certain Athenians, who happened to be then at Sparta in a public character, interposed in behalf of their commonwealth, and with great energy set forth ‘the services and exploits of the Athenian people, how gloriously they had obtained empire, and how just it was they should endeavour to preserve it,’ little regard nevertheless was paid to their remonstrances, the whole assembly appearing to breathe nothing else but resentment, and

and indignation, and defiance. The Spartan king Archidamus was the only person, who shewed himself prudent and dispassionate; he wished to moderate the heats that prevailed among them, and would have recalled them to milder sentiments: but to no purpose. It was the voice both of the council of Sparta and of the assembled states, that 'the Athenians had violated the peace;' and ambassadors were ordered, in the name of the confederated powers, to charge them with the infraction, and demand justice.

A TRAIN of embassies from the united adversaries of Athens was the prelude to the commencing of hostilities. The first that went required, 'that the posterity of those, who had been executed for polluting the sanctuary in the days of Cylon, should be sent into banishment.' This was designed to strike at Pericles, by the maternal line, as we have said, of the family of the Alcæonidæ. The Athenians recriminated, by challenging the Spartans to banish those who murdered the Helotæ in their sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, and to make atonement for the pollution of the temple of Minerva, in which Pausanias had taken refuge. Other ambassadors followed after these, to enjoin them 'to raise the siege of Potidæa, to restore the Æginetæ to their liberties, and to rescind the decree against the Megareans.' For the Megareans having cut down a consecrated grove, and profaned the hallowed ground, the Athenians sent a herald to remonstrate against the sacrilege, who dying on his road, the Megareans were accused of having assassinated him; and on this account had it been decreed, that every Megarean found in the territories of Attica should be put to death; and every

BOOK every year it was given in commission to the Athenian generals, that they should, twice during the time of their command, make an inroad into the Megarean borders. This embassy meeting with no better success than the former, a third succeeded, commanding the people of Athens 'to dissolve the empire they had usurped, and to permit all the Grecian states to be governed by their own laws.'

A PEOPLE in the zenith of power, and high of spirit, like the Athenians, were not framed to receive with temper messages thus insulting. However an assembly being convoked, there were some who proposed making certain concessions: but Pericles, by an oration extremely artful and well digested, soon put an end to all thoughts of peace. He shewed, 'what were the views of the Peloponnesian allies; that they intended not equal government, but the depression and ruin of the Athenian power; that therefore it was neither the justice of the decree against Megara, nor the subjection of the Æginetæ, they were now contending for, but the whole of their authority and dominion was at stake, which their enemies were seeking to undermine gradually; and that from any concession to the present demands no other consequence would arise, but a demand of more.' At the same time he conjured them 'not to lay blame on him, when they should find themselves involved in the calamities of war:' he forewarned them 'of the distresses, which that now impending would naturally bring on, the ravaging of Attica, the waste of their lands and villas: but these,' he told them, 'were possessions of inferior consequence; whilst the seas were theirs, whilst the islands and continents



‘ tinent of Thrace and Asia were open to them, B o o k  
 ‘ whilst they could at will spread desolation VII.  
 ‘ through the enemies’ borders, who not having Sect. 1.  
 ‘ the same resources, must feel infinitely more  
 ‘ misery, still must the advantage be on the side of  
 ‘ Athens; and that consequently their wisdom  
 ‘ must be to avoid a battle, for that the devasta-  
 ‘ tion of lands or houses might be easily repaired,  
 ‘ but the loss of men was an evil out of the reach  
 ‘ of cure.’ In conclusion he advised, that this  
 answer should be returned to the Spartan depu-  
 ties: ‘ the Megareans should have admission into  
 ‘ the ports and markets of Athens, when the Spar-  
 ‘ tans also consented to admit into their cities the  
 ‘ Athenians and their friends: the cities subject  
 ‘ to Athens, which were free when the peace was  
 ‘ made, should be discharged from all subjection,  
 ‘ provided Sparta led the way, by restoring to  
 ‘ all the states which she had enslaved the full en-  
 ‘ joyment of their laws and liberties: the conduct  
 ‘ of the Athenians would by the strictest examin-  
 ‘ ation be found perfectly to consist with the arti-  
 ‘ cles stipulated: and as to the war, they neither  
 ‘ fought nor feared it, but were ready to revenge  
 ‘ any insult on those who should dare first to offer  
 ‘ it.’ With this final answer the ambassadors de-  
 parted, and military preparations were carried on  
 throughout Greece.

It can hardly be supposed; that the Peloponne-  
 sians seriously expected from Athens a compliance  
 with the demands which their ambassadors were  
 commissioned to make; and hence there are not  
 wanting historians who affirm, they would have  
 been contented with much less, if any tendency  
 to moderation had appeared on the side of the  
 Athenians. But it is certain, that the jealousies  
 of

B o o k of most of the confederating states had long since, VII. like fire pent up, been working for vent, and must Sect. 1. at length have burst out into a flame; though no doubt the Athenians, by giving way to the suggestions of ambition, accelerated the rupture. That ambition was their motive for engaging in alliance with the Corcyreans, Thucydides himself is witness: 'the fleets of Corcyra,' he tells us, 'were to be a considerable addition to their maritime force; they were apprehensive, lest the Corinthians should become too powerful by the reduction of such a people; and they expected, that by supporting those of Corcyra against them, they should have an opportunity of consuming the vigour of Corinth, and sinking that naval competitor into a state of subjection. Then besides, 'the island of Corcyra was conveniently situated for the conquest of Sicily.' For with this vain fantastical hope did they please themselves: and great as their dominion already was, beyond what their natural strength could well compass, yet a greater extent of dominion, and scarcely less than universal monarchy, had they in prospect.

PERICLES also was a main promoter of the war. It is true, he was averse from any attempt on Sicily, being too wise a politician to encourage the plan of distant conquests: but a war was become necessary to him. His enemies were gaining ground; and he had already suffered deeply in the persons of his intimates and friends, several of whom had fallen victims to the resentments of the adverse faction. Damon, one of his most faithful counsellors, a man of uncommon abilities, who under the profession of music master to Pericles concealed the elegant scholar and able statesman,

man, had been banished. His tutor Anaxagoras, B o o k  
 counted among the brightest luminaries of the VII.  
 Grecian world, whose exalted notions respecting Sect. 1.  
 the Creator of the universe procured him the  
 name of Anaxagoras *the Intelligence*, was obliged  
 to depart out of Attica, his opinion of the hea-  
 venly bodies not according to the superstitions of  
 the vulgar; whence, it seems, a pretext was  
 taken for accusing him of atheistical tenets. Even  
 Phidias, the artist to whose happy genius and  
 masterly hand Athens owed her noblest orna-  
 ments, by whom the statue of Minerva, one of  
 the most celebrated works of antiquity, had been  
 executed, was impeached for defrauding the pub-  
 lic, and conspiring against the liberties of his  
 country. His real crime was, that he had pre-  
 sumed to introduce the figure of Pericles among  
 the personages by him pourtrayed on the shield of  
 the goddess. For this, it is said by some, his  
 enemies pursued the unfortunate artist even to  
 death; though the more general tradition affirms  
 him to have been sentenced only to banishment.

BUT what had given to Pericles the most sensi-  
 ble wound, was the attack made on Aspasia of  
 Miletus. Aspasia was the favourite mistress of  
 Pericles; a lady in whom, though accounted the  
 finest woman of her time, beauty was the meanest  
 accomplishment. Quickness of apprehension, sur-  
 prising depth of judgment, the most captivating  
 eloquence, were hers; and these, improved by  
 study, by philosophical researches, by conversing  
 with the best and wisest men of Athens: so that  
 Pericles had in her not only a mistress; he had a  
 counsellor, a companion, a friend, with whom he  
 advised in the most pressing difficulties, and from  
 whom, when he had occasion to harangue the  
 people,



BOOK people, skilled as he was in the arts of speech, he VII. was not ashamed to take instructions. The opposite party therefore made trial of their strength Sect. 1. by attacking the fair Aspasia: they charged her with impiety, a charge rendered credible, it may be presumed, by her frequent conversations with the philosopher Anaxagoras. The distress of Pericles on this occasion exceeded any he had ever yet experienced: he employed all his influence, he pleaded her cause, he personally interceded with the judges in her behalf; and with difficulty saved her from condemnation.

His adversaries now took courage. A motion was made, that Pericles should produce his accounts, and lay the state of the exchequer before the proper judges. This was what he was by no means prepared to do; for though he had never appropriated to his own use the public wealth, yet had he lavished away a third part of the funds in wanton vain expences, in purchasing the favour and applause of the multitude. Uneasy at these attempts on his power, and doubtful of the issue, Pericles determined to plunge his country into confusion. It is said, that on a certain day, while he was musing concerning these matters, Alcibiades, then a youth, and ward to Pericles, asked his guardian, 'Why so pensive?' and being answered by him, that he was studying to give in his accounts, 'Rather,' replied the sprightly young man, 'study not to give in any account at all:' and it appears this was the advice Pericles followed. He flattered himself, that the voice of complaint would not be heard against him amidst the din of war, at a time when his superior abilities would extort a deference to him from all his countrymen, even from  
from

from those who opposed him at present, and who during the sunshine of peace assumed to themselves the character of important leaders. B o o k  
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Sect. 1.

FROM the death of Cimon to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war elapsed only the space of about nineteen years.

BOOK





## B O O K VII.

## S E C T I O N II.

THE history of Athens is an instructive lesson to mankind. Never had the Athenians a more formidable shew of power, than at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. All the Greeks of Asia from Caria to the Hellespont, with the numerous islands of the Egean sea, were subject to them. A considerable part of the Thracian coast was theirs. And in Greece, the Thesfalians, the Acarnanians, the Messenians of Naupactus, the Eubœans, and Corcyreans were joined with them in firm alliance. No nation could compare with them in naval strength. They were rich in treasure; and besides what the culture of Attica, what their extensive commerce, and the tribute of the confederate states produced, they had moreover the valuable mines of Thrace in their possession. Nothing was to be seen within the Athenian walls but ornament and splendor; all

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BOOK all the refined arts flourishing in high perfection,  
 VII. sculpture and painting, music and poetry, learn-  
 Sect. 2. ing and eloquence; and every day numbers ar-  
 riving from every part of the earth to learn ele-  
 gance and taste from this improved people.

WHO, that looked no deeper than into the sur-  
 face of this republic, would suppose the Atheni-  
 ans were now less great than in the days of Mil-  
 tiades? If we turn our eyes back to that period,  
 we shall find, the rugged barren soil of Attica  
 was the extent of their territory; they were strong  
 neither in wealth nor alliances, neither in naval  
 nor military preparations; and a mighty war, me-  
 nacing their utter destruction, impended over  
 them. And yet, in the estimate of reason, those  
 were her days of glory. Her manners then were  
 unbroken, and her sons virtuous: they were an  
 industrious, hardy, frugal race, incapable of pur-  
 chasing even life itself at the expence of liberty  
 and honour, and placing their highest happiness  
 in the prosperity of their country—therefore were  
 they victorious. Whereas now, abundant wealth  
 and excess of power had transformed them: they  
 were become, abroad, imperious and arrogant;  
 at home, devoted to pleasures and idle entertain-  
 ments, and impatient of controul and sage advice;  
 their ambitious hopes compassing the empire of  
 the world, and their leaders forgetting the com-  
 mon good for the sake of private emolument.  
 These were the evils that brought on the Pelopon-  
 nesian war, and made it fatal to them.

THE Lacedemonians however, who headed the  
 confederacy against Athens, had no right to  
 found any claim to the gratitude of Greece on the  
 purity of their intentions for her welfare: what-  
 ever they might pretend, their real object was the  
 advancement of their own empire. It is the re-  
 mark

mark of Thucydides, a most judicious historian, Book VII.  
 who was himself a witness to the transactions of Sect. 2.  
 those days, that they had long beheld with envious eyes the glory of the Athenian people, and gladly seized the opportunity of humbling this powerful neighbour. The same observation holds good as to all those engaged in the alliance: the faults of the Athenians furnished the excuse, but their own jealousy and ambition were the real incitements. The Corinthians were grieved at the naval strength of Athens. The Bœotians hated her reputation and exalted character: her very manners and laws, the sprightly parts and delicacy of genius for which her inhabitants were renowned, her generous courage and love of liberty—all those were pain to them: they saw their own country obscured by the comparison, and the name of Thebes connected with ideas of inferiority and contempt. Probably too the gold of Artaxerxes was not wanting to bribe to his interest the leading men in those several states, and engage their suffrages for a war. Athens was the power he dreaded most, and which it was most apparently his interest to distress. But with all this, had not the Athenians destroyed themselves by their domestic follies and ill-digested counsels; had they comported themselves towards their allies with that humanity and gentleness which adorned the ministries of Aristides and Cimon; and had every individual of them with the steady regard of Themistocles fixed his eye on the public good; neither would the ambition of Sparta, nor the jealousy of Corinth, neither the Bœotian hatred, nor the Persian gifts, have availed aught against them.



**BOOK** THE war in Greece began by an attempt on  
**VII.** Platææ. The Thebans endeavoured to surprize this  
**Sect. 2.** city, the destruction of which they had long since  
 coveted, because the behaviour of the Platæans in  
 the Persian invasion was a reproach to their own,  
 and they felt themselves degraded by the signal  
 honours decreed to Platææ by the general voice of  
 Greece. The opportunity was now favourable :  
 their close amity with the Athenians offered a  
 plausible pretence ; and certain of the Platæans  
 themselves, moved by some private discontent,  
 had promised their assistance. A party of the  
 Thebans therefore entered Platææ by night : but  
 the citizens running to arms, and defending  
 themselves with great resolution, disappointed the  
 project of the enemy, took several of them pri-  
 soners, whom they put to death, and obliged the  
 rest to consult their safety by an ignominious flight.  
 This happened the first year of the eighty seventh  
 Olympiad, and the fifteenth year of the peace con-  
 cluded between Athens and Sparta. As soon as the  
 Athenians had advice of this enterprize, troops  
 were sent to protect those of Platææ, and to remove  
 their women and children to Athens.

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THE indignation which it was natural for the  
 Athenians to feel at an attempt so ungenerous, and  
 the concern they expressed for their antient allies,  
 were so far from producing similar emotions in the  
 breasts of the Spartans and their friends, that they  
 were construed into insults, and orders were given  
 to the Spartan king Archidamus forthwith to in-  
 vade Attica. It has been mentioned already, how  
 averse from the beginning this prince had been to  
 violent measures, and with what earnestness he  
 had laboured to dissuade his countrymen from an  
 open rupture with Athens. He had still the same  
 unabated zeal for the prosperity of Greece ; in  
 which

which spirit, before he would commit hostilities, B o o k  
 he dispatched a messenger to try whether a nego- VII.  
 ciation could be set on foot, by which this destruc- Sect. 2.  
 tive war might be prevented. But Pericles pre-  
 ferred the interests of his ambition to those of  
 his country, and even refused audience to the  
 Spartan. It is said, that this messenger, when  
 he came to the limits of Attica, to which he was  
 conducted by certain persons appointed specially  
 by Pericles to the end that no man should confer  
 with him, uttered these remarkable words, ‘ This  
 ‘ day is the beginning of many sorrows to the  
 ‘ Grecians.’ Archidamus with the forces under  
 him, amounting to sixty thousand men, imme-  
 diately on the return of his messenger, marched  
 on towards the Attic frontiers.

AN enemy so formidable Pericles did not think  
 it prudent to encounter in the open field. Even  
 a victory must have thinned his numbers, already  
 but inconsiderable ; and if he lost a battle, it was  
 probable most of the confederates of the Athenian  
 people would fall away from them. He acted  
 therefore with better policy, by obliging all the  
 inhabitants of the villages to retire within the  
 walls of Athens, and sending off the most valua-  
 ble of their effects, and their cattle, to the island  
 of Eubœa. Archidamus finding no resistance,  
 employed his forces in laying waste all the noble  
 improvements and fair villas, with which so  
 many years of opulence and peace had adorned  
 Attica. The lands of Pericles only were left un-  
 touched, and that by the command of the Spartan  
 general, who wished by such a proceeding to bring  
 into question the faith of Pericles, and undermine  
 the credit of that powerful statesman. But Archi-  
 damus had an opponent too wary to be overcome  
 by artifice ; his stratagem was immediately seen

BOOK through, and explained to the assembly by Pericles,

VII. who took off the effect of it entirely by giving up  
Sect. 2. the estate in question to the people. He had  
occasion indeed for every exertion of prudence to  
maintain his influence with his countrymen, who  
beheld with no little impatience the havock to  
which this invasion exposed them. Fifty years  
had now elapsed, since Attica had felt the waste  
of war; and they who had so long been accustomed  
to security and ease, could but ill brook these  
domestic calamities, the flight of their families,  
the ravaging of their lands, the ruin of their  
costly seats. Besides, the city could with difficulty  
contain the multitudes that had crowded into it;  
not only the porticoes, but even the streets and  
temples were filled with numbers that had fled  
from before the enemy: so that the wretchedness of  
the prospect from without was heightened by the  
distress within. In circumstances such as these,  
by a people noted for a poignancy of expression  
equal to their feelings, it is easy to judge how  
little Pericles was spared, the minister who re-  
mained seemingly an idle spectator of all this  
misery, while the Spartans were suffered to range  
about triumphant and unmolested.

It was not long however, before the opportu-  
nity which Pericles waited for presented itself.  
He had got ready a fleet of an hundred sail; and  
when the enemy, after much depredation com-  
mitted, were preparing to return homeward, vain  
of their success, and vaunting themselves in the  
inactivity of the Athenians, he ordered his gallies  
to the Peloponnesian coast, there to spread terror  
and desolation as extensively as possible. This  
spirited retaliation on the Spartans for the mischiefs  
they had wrought to Attica justified Pericles in  
the opinion of his people. Other vigorous exer-  
tions



tions presently followed. A second fleet was sent B o o k  
 into the Eubœan streights, and the coasts of VII.  
 Opuntian Locris were laid waste. Ægina was Sect. 2.  
 attacked, all the inhabitants were ejected, and their  
 lands assigned to a colony of Athenians. The  
 Megareans were the next that felt the storm,  
 whose country was given up to pillage. And to  
 the brilliancy of military expeditions other arts  
 were added by Pericles, not less effectual for in-  
 vigorating the Athenian spirit. When the cam-  
 paign for the year was over, obsequies were cele-  
 brated, like those described above on the reduc-  
 tion of Samos, in honour of such as had fallen  
 in the war. Nothing was omitted, which might  
 add to the dignity of this solemnity. The reader  
 may be curious to learn the form of it, as given  
 us by Thucydides.

For the space of three days the bones of the  
 dead were laid out in a pavilion prepared for the  
 purpose, during which time flowers, rich per-  
 fumes, and various offerings were strewed over  
 them. On the day of burial, they were removed  
 into cypress coffins, one belonging to each tribe,  
 and carried along in hearses with much awful  
 pomp to the Ceramicum, the fairest of the  
 Athenian suburbs; for here, in a public monu-  
 ment, it was the custom to deposite the bones of  
 those who had died in the defence of their coun-  
 try. The whole city, from the highest rank to the  
 lowest, attended the procession, and being arrived  
 at the place of interment, listened to a commemo-  
 rative oration pronounced by some person,  
 whose quality and known abilities rendered him  
 worthy of the important office. On this occasion  
 the charge was assigned to Pericles. We have  
 said, he was the most powerful speaker of his  
 time: but on this day he exceeded every display

BOOK he had before made of himself, to that degree,  
 VII. that entranced with his eloquence the Athenians  
 Sect. 2. forgot all their calamities, and found matter of  
 exultation and triumph in the slaughter of their  
 brethren, their kindred, their friends. So admirably  
 did this master politician know how to touch the  
 finest keys of the soul, that a people, in delicacy of  
 taste unrivalled by any other that ever existed,  
 were not proof against his fascinating powers of  
 persuasion.

IF the plan laid down by Pericles, of abandon-  
 ing the country to the ravages of the enemy,  
 rather than hazard the lives of his soldiers, was  
 the result of just policy in the first campaign, it  
 became more evidently consistent with prudence  
 the next summer, when the Spartans returned to  
 Attica, because to the horrors of war was then  
 added another evil far more dreadful. A  
 pestilence, which beginning in Ethiopia had made  
 its way through Egypt and most parts of Asia,  
 reached Athens, and there, assisted by a fatal  
 combination of causes, it soon rose to such a  
 height as to baffle all remedies. For, in the first  
 place, it was a sultry season, and the weather  
 remarkably close and suffocating : then the city  
 was crowded with inhabitants, most of whom,  
 accustomed to breathe the free rural air, were now  
 confined in narrow unhealthy habitations : the  
 waters, besides, were corrupted ; the provisions  
 scanty and indifferent. - All these things adding  
 strength to the infection, never was there deeper  
 misery, than this wretched city now experienced.  
 Numbers, as they passed along, tumbled one  
 upon the other : the public ways, the porticoes,  
 the very temples, were filled with the dying and  
 the dead : a putrid vapour exhaled from the dead  
 bodies, and poisoned all that approached them.

Ref. Christ  
 430.

The

The offices of humanity were intermitted: the Book master was avoided by his domestics, the parent VII. left forlorn by children, the friend forsaken by Sect. 2. his friend; and if any, more compassionate, indulged the tender service, they soon caught the infection, and perished. The virulence also of the distemper was most uncommon. They whom it seized, not only were racked with the acutest pains; they laboured moreover under a dejection of mind, which took away all soundness of judgment, nor ceased till after some days they expired in horror and extreme anguish: and of those who survived, scarcely were there any that had not some of their limbs disabled, and their understandings impaired, the disorder frequently leaving such a tincture of its malignancy behind, as entirely to efface the traces and memory of all former occurrences.

It was on this occasion, that the famed Hippocrates came to Athens. This excellent person was a native of the island of Cos, and for his superior knowledge in medicine obtained, and has left to posterity, a name that will never die. Artaxerxes, when the plague first visited his dominions, sent an invitation to him to pass over to the Persian court, with promises equally flattering to his reputation and interest. But the generous Grecian, to whom recompences such as these were of little price, made answer, 'that he owed his services to his country, and not to barbarians, the avowed enemies of Greece.' Stung with this refusal, the Persian monarch passed from the language of temptation to outrageous menaces, which met with as little success. Mean time application was made to Hippocrates on the part of Athens, who, as soon as he heard of the distresses of that city, the favourite seat of science and arts, made



**BOOK** made haste to its relief. It would be difficult to  
 VII. do justice to the signal humanity and affection with  
 Sect. 2. which he exerted his skill in favour of this afflicted  
 people : he spared no labour ; he omitted no  
 office ; neither the deadly air, nor the disgusting  
 circumstances of the infected, discouraged him.  
 And to diffuse more widely the beneficial effects  
 of his art, many persons instructed by him in the  
 means the most likely to restore the public  
 health were dispersed through the different quar-  
 ters of the city. The Athenians felt what a  
 blessing are great abilities, when employed for  
 such glorious purposes, and they shewed them-  
 selves not insensible of the benefit. Hippocrates  
 was made a denizen of Athens, an honour some-  
 times refused even to princes ; a golden crown was  
 bestowed on him, and a pension for life ; and it  
 was decreed, that from that time forward all the  
 natives of the island which had given birth to a  
 man so great and good should enjoy the same  
 privileges as if Athenians born. Two years  
 however elapsed, before Hippocrates with his  
 utmost efforts had restored the public health.

THE adversaries of Athens were in no  
 condition to avail themselves of the calamity that  
 hung over that city, being urged by the dread of  
 the contagion to hasten homeward. Pericles  
 nevertheless continued earnest in the prosecution  
 of the war : amidst all these domestic sufferings  
 was he busied in martial preparations, probably  
 with a view to divert the attention of the people  
 from the numerous ills then incumbent on them.  
 He had equipped a large fleet, with which he  
 sailed to Epidaurus ; but the sickness that wasted  
 his men, forced him to return in a short time.  
 Recruits also were sent to the army before Potidæa,  
 and to as little purpose ; for instead of encreasing  
 their

their numbers, they communicated the infection Book VII.  
to the camp, so that in the space of forty days  
they lost upwards of a thousand men. Sect. 2.

THE weight of so many misfortunes becoming at length intolerable to the Athenians, it was resolved to send ambassadors to Sparta to sue for peace. But that inflexible people had neither generosity nor wisdom sufficient to embrace the opportunity of composing the troubles of Greece: the utter ruin of envied Athens was their object, and this proof of her depression was matter of triumph to them. Insulted in their distress, the Athenians turned their vengeance on the advisers of this ruinous war, and Pericles was called to an account. His eloquence, hitherto always victorious, now proved too weak against the rage of a distracted people: he was deprived of his honours, and amerced fifty talents. The removal of this minister however had no effect in restoring Athens to her prosperity: the pestilence was not yet abated, and the wasting war still continued.

THE surrender of Potidæa, which happened towards the end of this year, came opportunely to relieve the drooping spirits of the Athenians. The Potidæans had suffered themselves to be reduced even to the extremity of eating one the other, in expectation of succours from Sparta; but no succours appearing, they at last offered to submit on certain honourable conditions, which were readily granted them by the Athenian commanders, well pleased to put an end to a siege that had been attended with so much expence of men and treasure. Before this city was taken, there happened an incident, which marks strongly how inveterate was the enmity between the Athenians and Spartans. These last had sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes, to solicit a supply of  
2
money

BOOK money for carrying on the war, with instructions

VII. likewise to make their way through Thrace, and to  
Sect. 2. found the disposition of Sitalces, a prince in alliance with the Athenians, and endeavour to draw him off from their interests. There were at the same time embassadors from Athens resident at the court of Sitalces, who having found what the views of the Spartans were, obtained that they should be delivered into their hands, and sent them to Athens, where, without even being permitted to speak in their defence, they were immediately put to death, and their bodies were denied the rites of sepulture. Such were the unnatural sentiments this intestine war inspired! The Athenians had lost their humanity, and the Spartans had forgot their independence: that high spirit, which in the days of Leonidas had bid defiance to all the powers of Persia, was now exchanged for a fawning servility towards the Persian king, and a readiness to share his bounty.

It might have been expected, that the Athenians, exhausted as they were by the tedious siege of Potidæa, as well as weakened by their domestic scourge, should have contained themselves this year at home: nevertheless it appears, that ere the season for action was past, they engaged in new expeditions in divers parts of Greece. They sent a fleet into the Crissean gulph, to block up the Corinthians. They had also an army in Acarnania to chastise the Ambraciots, who had attacked the Acarnanians, the allies of Athens. But these and the like incidental operations are not of moment enough to detain the reader's attention from the principal events of the war.

Ref. Christ  
429.

AT the beginning of the third year was formed the memorable siege of Plataæ. Archidamus marched against it at the head of a powerful army.

In



In vain did that excellent people remonstrate Book VII.  
 against the injustice of compelling them to quit VII.  
 their neutrality: ' they had been proclaimed a Sect. 2.  
 ' free people by Pausanias the Lacedemonian ;  
 ' the sacrifices to be offered for the common  
 ' prosperity of Greece had been entrusted to  
 ' them ; their very territories had been declared  
 ' sacred to liberty.' But these were feeble arguments to a soldiery fired with civil rage, and who saw victory courting them on. Accordingly Archidamus made answer, ' that they were not to expect mercy, except they would renounce all confederacy with the Athenians, and give up their city with all its possessions to Sparta till the war should be at an end.' Conditions so degrading the spirited generous Platæans never could submit to : they looked on Athens as the patroness of their liberties ; they had been inseparably joined with her through all the dangers of the preceding war ; and now were they determined to stand or fall with her. Of this resolution they apprised the Athenians by messengers, desiring assistance, which was promised them, and every encouragement given to defend themselves to the utmost. When the Spartans found the people of Platææ immoveable in their attachment to Athens, they resolved to signalize their vengeance against them, and earnestly pressed on the siege, attempting even to reduce the city to ashes. The besieged on their part fought with dauntless resolution, and met their antagonists with so much vigour in every enterprise, that Archidamus, seeing winter approach, changed the siege into a blockade, and having left some troops to guard the lines, returned to Sparta.

BOOK We have seen the great abilities of Pericles

VII. rendered useless to his country by a rash sentence,  
 Sect. 2. the dictate of resentment : we have seen him pursued, mulcted, condemned to that which his soul of all things hated most, to a life of disgrace and obscurity. And yet was this ruin of his public estate light in comparison of the domestic calamities that overtook him. His eldest son Xanthippus was carried off by the plague, which still ravaged Athens. However, the loss of him was not much to be deplored. He was an ill disposed young man, who had long since thrown off the band of filial duty, and was wont to treat even his father with great insolence, because he would not furnish means to his vicious excesses. But after him, the rest of Pericles' family felt also the violence of the distemper : he lost his sister, his relations, his friends ; and last of all, his son Paralus died also, a youth of great hopes, and the only one that remained to him of all his legitimate issue. Hitherto Pericles had borne all his adversities with wonderous firmness ; for he was a man that affected unconcern under the severest ills : but this last shock triumphed over his boasted resolution, and forced him to confess the feelings of human nature ; insomuch that, when he attended the obsequies of this darling son, and was, according to custom, to crown the pale corpse with a chaplet, in the midst of the solemnity he burst out into a flood of tears, and poured forth the bitterest lamentations.

So affecting a reverse of fortune melted the very enemies of this great personage, and changed their resentment into compassion. Alcibiades advised him not to let pass the friendly occasion, but to engage again in public life, as the most effectual means of dissipating the griefs that hung  
 over

over him. Pericles tried the experiment, and began to frequent the assemblies of the people, who on their part became as urgent to set him once more at the helm of affairs, as they had been before to remove him. The first proof they gave of returning good will to their minister, was to abrogate an edict, which Pericles himself had made to the prejudice of illegitimate children. We have related, that in the days of his prosperity, in order to indulge his dislike to the house of Cimon, he had procured a law, by which all persons, not of Athenian blood by both parents, were declared aliens; and how heavy this had fallen on many families. It is worth observing, what a warning is here to the arrogance of man. Pericles was now obliged to solicit the repeal of a law, which left him childless; and by the suffrages of the people leave was given him to inroll among the citizens of his tribe a son, whom he had by a strange woman.

Soon after, Pericles himself died of the plague. It was observed, that this fatal distemper destroyed him in a manner different from all others; it was not a sickness of a few days, but consumed him by a gradual, lingering decay. Plutarch also tells us, that as it preyed upon his body, so likewise were the powers of his mind wasted by it, this intrepid general and subtil statesman being at length transformed into a weak, childish bigot, hung round with amulets, and seeking relief from charms, of which in his lucid intervals he appeared himself to be ashamed. One remarkable circumstance however of his last moments is preserved by the same writer, which presents a flash of intellect burning brighter just before extinction. As he was drawing near his end, his friends, who assisted round his bed, were employed in numbering



BOOKING up the many glorious events of his life, the VII. honours he had enjoyed, and the victories he had Sect. 2. won : ‘ Strange,’ said the dying man, raising himself on a sudden, ‘ that you should praise me ‘ for things in which fortune had so large a share, ‘ things which many others have in common with ‘ me; and that you should forget that which has ‘ been my peculiar happiness, and which I have ‘ by far the greatest reason to glory in—*never did ‘ I give an Athenian cause to put on mourning !*’

UNDOUBTEDLY, few men have made a soberer use of power, than did this eminent statesman. He had no share of that suspicious cruelty, from which tyrants usually seek their protection : the only instruments he employed to support himself were his courtesousness, his elegance, his power of persuasion, by which he established an empire over the minds of a free people, superior by far to any that ever was founded on coercion. Yet is he not to be held up to the reader as an object of real esteem. Amiable as he appears in private life, and splendid as were his abilities, it is nevertheless certain, that this very man urged on the ruin of a great commonwealth ; that he broke the manners of the people by the introduction of luxury ; that he alienated the affection of the allies, by lavishing away the common treasure in advancing the pride and ornament of one city ; what is yet worse, that he weakened, from selfish motives, the authority of the awful court of Areopagus, thus giving up the machine of government to the conduct of the impetuous giddy multitude ; finally, that, rather than part with his power, he involved his country in a war of Grecians with Grecians, impelling a people, who were to be preserved free only by being united, to discord and mutual debilitation. That, in spite  
of

of these uncontrovertible facts, we should find a B o o k man like Pericles extolled by several Grecian VII. writers, is surely not matter of wonder. Is it Sect. 2. surprising, that they especially who lived near his times, should have spoken of him with admiration? The magnificence and splendor, to which Athens had been advanced by him; his personal qualities, his moderation, his contempt of wealth, his munificent encouragement of the arts, his readiness to reward, his discernment in rewarding; his endowments, so bright, so various; the philosopher, the statesman, the orator, the general, combining in him—all these contributed to diffuse a glory around this conspicuous personage. It was impossible to behold him in a light so advantageous, without admiring him. Then let it be considered, what kind of generals and statesmen succeeded, when he was no more. Is it strange, that Pericles should be praised and lamented, when compared with men like these? who, however they might equal him in ambition, had few of them his integrity, scarcely any of them his abilities, not one of them his abilities and integrity united: so that, the faults he committed being continued and rendered more dangerous by the vices and imbecillity of those who came after, the destruction of the state seemed not so much owing to the measures introduced by Pericles, as to his not being alive to give them effect.

THE persons we have in view, on whom now devolved the principal management of affairs whether civil or military, were Nicias, Cleon, Diodotus, Demosthenes, Paches, Lamachus; all of them in capacity far inferior to Pericles: we shall have occasion to observe the particular talents of most of them, as we go on. But a character now also came forward, that was thought  
to

**BOOK** to bear a stronger resemblance than any other to

VII. the deceased minister, and to be the most likely to  
 Sect. 2. fix the public attention. Alcibiades, a young man of an aspiring soul and excellent endowments, to the advantages of noble birth and an immense fortune added a grace and loveliness of form hardly to be equalled. Besides, he was nearly related to Pericles, and had been, as we intimated already, brought up under his roof. More than this, he had the happiness of being known to the great Socrates, who loved him affectionately, and had employed his utmost care to render the qualifications of this young nobleman of real use to the common weal. We shall see, how these fair appearances were all darkened by his inconsiderate pursuits and impetuous passions, and had their end in the ruin of himself and the misery of his country.

Ref. Christ  
 428.

THE year after the death of Pericles, the Spartans, encouraged probably by that event, and seeing the plague abated, entered Attica again under the conduct of king Archidamus, where they committed great ravages, cutting down and destroying even the green corn, and making desolate every place that had the appearance of culture. This year also, the inhabitants of Lesbos, those of Methymna excepted, formed the resolution of revolting from the Athenians. Lesbos, a large and fertile island in the Ægean sea, was adorned with several wealthy cities : its people were of Æolian extraction ; between whom and the Athenians an alliance had subsisted, from what time the Grecian islands had thrown off the yoke of Sparta in the days of Pausanias. But now the afflicted condition of Athens, together with the solicitations of her adversaries, tempted them from their faith ; of which as soon as the Athenians had ad-  
 vice



vice from their friends at Methymna, they ordered Paches with a fleet of forty gallies immediately to lay siege to Mitylene, the capital of the island. This activity obliged the Mityleneans to sue for a truce. Repulsed in their petition, their ambassadors applied to Sparta, whence at the desire of the Spartans they went on to Olympia, to be present at the solemnity of the games, which this year happened to be celebrated. There, in the general assembly of the estates of Greece, the Lesbians set forth the many causes they had of complaint against the Athenian people, their injustice, cruelty, insidiousness; and in the most earnest manner implored the convened powers to pity and assist them. Such an application, supported by the Lacedemonian interest, could hardly miss of its effect: it was resolved to succour Mitylene, and to attack the Athenians by sea and land.

THE Athenians were not dismayed. They reinforced the army before Mitylene; they appointed a fleet of an hundred gallies to guard Attica, and ordered another of equal strength to infest the coasts of Peloponnesus. In the mean time the Spartans, after expecting in vain the arrival of the allied troops which were to join them at the Isthmus, were obliged to hasten home to the defence of their own territories. They resumed their hostilities, however, early the next spring, by invading Attica: at the same time forty-two ships were sent to the relief of Mitylene. But the ships did little service; for Paches met them out at sea, and chased them far away from Lesbos. Disappointed of these succours, the Mityleneans were reduced to the necessity of submitting; when the only conditions they could obtain were, that the inhabitants should not be proceeded against, till the Athenian people had determined concerning them.

BOOK them. Accordingly a messenger was dispatched VII. to Athens, together with some of the chief of the Sect. 2. Mityleneans, and Salæthus embassador from Sparta, who had stolen secretly into Mitylene, and was found in it when it was taken. The Athenians had been greatly incensed at the revolt of Lesbos; and on this occasion their resentment was so wound up by the violent speeches of Cleon, that they passed a severe decree, by which Salæthus was ordered to execution, and instructions were sent to Paches to put to death all the men of Mitylene, and sell the women and children for slaves. The day following, the Athenians began to repent them of their extreme severity: a new assembly was convoked, in which Diodotus, a man of coolness and reflection, who had before opposed Cleon, pleaded so forcibly in behalf of the Mityleneans, that he procured a mitigation of the dreadful sentence. No time was to be lost; for a galley had set out the preceding evening for Mitylene, carrying orders for a general massacre. Another galley was now dispatched, with large promises to the rowers, in case they arrived soon enough to save the Mityleneans. Nevertheless the bloody decree arrived first, and had certainly taken place, had it not been for the humane general, who read it with the deepest concern, and allowed the unhappy people one day's respite. In this dreadful situation were they, all hope excluded, and nothing but wailing and lamentation to be heard throughout the city, when the second vessel entered the port. Immediately the joyous news spread abroad, and the people were called together to have the sentence of mercy pronounced to them. It was a sentence, however, qualified with sufficient rigour: all those who had been leaders in the revolt, were put to death; the

the walls of the city were levelled with the ground; B 6 6 K  
 and a distribution was made of all the lands of VII.  
 the Mityleneans among Athenian citizens, the Sect. 2.  
 ancient proprietors being only permitted to hold  
 them at a certain rent. These last efforts almost  
 emptied the treasury of the Athenians, as that  
 people found to their cost, being thenceforth  
 obliged to tax themselves for the support of the  
 war.

THE success at Mitylene was balanced by the  
 loss of Platææ, which was taken this summer,  
 after a siege of near two years. All this time had  
 that brave people defended themselves against a  
 force infinitely superior; and for many months  
 had the city been blocked up with all the strength  
 of walls and mounds by the besiegers. The pre-  
 ceding winter, about two hundred and twenty of  
 the besieged had formed the resolution to force  
 their way through the enemies works, and by  
 dint of extraordinary valour had succeeded in  
 their enterprize, two hundred and twelve of the  
 party escaping to Athens. This obliged the con-  
 federates to keep a stricter watch; so that the un-  
 happy Platæans, pressed with every kind of want,  
 and seeing no prospect of deliverance, agreed to  
 surrender, on condition that they should be ad-  
 mitted to a fair trial. Their request was complied  
 with, and commissioners were sent from Sparta  
 to enquire into and decide upon their conduct.  
 All this carried a shew of equity, from which  
 some hope might have been conceived that the  
 Spartans would listen to the dictates of mercy:  
 but it was a vain parade, and already was the ruin  
 of the Platæans resolved on. The commissioners  
 examined them only to a single point, 'What  
 services they had performed for Sparta and her  
 allies, in the course of this war?' The prisoners,  
 V. L. I. E e instead



BOOK instead of answering this captious question whose

VII. tendency was obvious, attempted to soften their  
 Sect. 2. judges, by representing to them, ‘What the  
 ‘Platæans had ever been; their zeal for the prof-  
 ‘perity of Greece; the noble stand they had  
 ‘made in defence of liberty. Ye yourselves,’  
 said they, ‘have a near interest in the preserva-  
 ‘tion of this state; and if our country is laid in  
 ‘ruins, the monuments of your fame, the se-  
 ‘pulchres of your ancestors, of those brave men  
 ‘who fell on the day of Platææ, the temples of  
 ‘the gods, the conservators of Greece, who  
 ‘crowned our arms with victory, must also be  
 ‘laid in ruins.’ They were suffered to say on  
 without interruption; and when they had made  
 an end of speaking, the same question was again  
 put to each of them singly, ‘What services they  
 ‘had performed to Sparta and her allies, in the  
 ‘course of this war?’ They every one of them  
 returned the same answer, ‘No services,’ and  
 were dispatched instantly. Thus did the Spartans  
 basely sacrifice this excellent people to the envy  
 and resentment of their Theban confederates.  
 There were slain on this occasion two hundred  
 Platæans, and twenty-five Athenians: the women  
 and children, found in the place, were all con-  
 demned to slavery. The city itself was rased by  
 the Spartans, the year after, and continued in  
 ruins, till Alexander the Great gave orders for  
 rebuilding it, in honour to the memory of these  
 champions for liberty.

Bef. Christ  
 426.

THE want of land forces, sufficient both to  
 guard Athens and to join battle with the confede-  
 rates, was the reason why the Athenians did not  
 march to the relief of this loyal city. They did  
 what their strength permitted them. Their navies  
 were sent out to infest the Peloponnesian coasts;  
 and

and probably they expected, that these invasions B o o k  
 would create a diversion in favour of the Pla- VII.  
 taëans, and force Sparta and her friends to aban- Sect. 2.  
 don this tedious siege from respect to their own  
 security. Yet they themselves had exhibited  
 proof about this time, how easily a respect to se-  
 curity may be overborne by the prevalence of  
 stronger passions, vanity having prompted them to  
 engage in an expedition to Sicily, in the hope of  
 reducing that distant island, whilst they were  
 struggling with innumerable difficulties at home,  
 their finances low, and the enemy in a manner at  
 their gates. Indeed, as we have said, the con-  
 quest of Sicily had long since been their darling  
 folly; and unluckily at this juncture an embassy  
 from the Leontines opened anew the pleasing pro-  
 spect. Sicily, it appears, was divided into two par-  
 ties, the Doric, the most considerable of which were  
 the wealthy Syracusans, and the Ionian, headed  
 by those of Leontium. The latter, finding them-  
 selves inferior in strength, solicited aid from the  
 Athenians, who gladly complied with the request,  
 and sent immediately a fleet, and soon after a se-  
 cond, to support them. However, this expedi-  
 tion produced not any thing considerable. In the  
 space of about two years, the Sicilians wisely  
 made peace among themselves, and the Atheni-  
 ans, after much treasure expended, were obliged  
 to quit Sicily.

IN the midst of these adventurous attempts,  
 Athens had an encrease of ills to struggle with.  
 The Peloponnesian intrigues had excited a formi-  
 dable insurrection in the island of Corcyra; so  
 that the Athenians were in danger of losing the  
 very people in whose quarrel they had taken up  
 arms. At the beginning of the war, some of the  
 principal men of Corcyra had been made prison-

BOOK ers, and sent to Corinth, where instead of the se-

VII. vere usage they expected, they were treated with

SECT. 2. much humanity, and after some years were restored to liberty. There was policy in this act of mercy. During their confinement these men had been won over to the cause of the allies, particular care having been taken to possess them with a hatred of democracy, and a desire to change that form of government in their own country. The effect of their principles became but too manifest on their return home, when strengthening themselves with numbers, they fell on those who were attached to the popular government, and barbarously butchered many of them. Soon as the Athenians received the tidings, a strong force was detached to the assistance of their oppressed friends, which again turned the balance, and the Peloponnesian faction was pursued with the same relentless cruelty they had shewn to others : neither the reverence of years, nor the ties of affinity were attended to ; even those who fled to the altars, were dragged away from thence, and given up to the fury of the people. Thus was the state rent asunder by the violence of civil dissension, and Corcyra drenched in the blood of her wretched sons. The like tragic scenes we shall find acting over in most of the Grecian cities, the humane manners, the generous courage, which had been the glory of this nation, appearing in the course of this fatal war to have taken their flight for ever.

BESIDES foreign concerns, Athens had also her domestic misfortunes. The plague broke out afresh with redoubled fury. Fourteen thousand persons were carried off by it ; a prodigious loss to a people, already thinned by such frequent returns of the pestilence, and six years of war. The succeeding



succeeding year, the Spartans were preparing to B o o k  
 invade Attica, when, as if the whole *natural* con- VII.  
 stitution of Greece was convulsed as well as the Sect. 2.  
*political*, such dreadful earthquakes were felt  
 almost in every part of it, that the affrighted Spar-  
 tans hastened homeward.

THE eighth year of the war opens with the ap- Bef. Christ  
 pearance of the Spartan army on the territories of 424.  
 Athens, led on by Agis, son and successor to Ar-  
 chidamus, and with the invasion of Peloponnesus  
 by the Athenian fleet, according to the plan laid  
 down by Pericles. Demosthenes, one of the ad-  
 mirals, devised a method of distressing the enemy  
 on this occasion, which succeeded to his wish.  
 The Messenian Pylus, he observed, was a place of  
 advantageous situation, which might afford the  
 Athenians frequent opportunity of infesting Laco-  
 nia; therefore landing part of his troops, he pos-  
 sessed himself of it. Immediately the Spartans  
 became sensible of the necessity of dislodging him,  
 for which purpose they posted a chosen body of  
 men in Sphacteria, a little island opposite to Pylus,  
 and entering the Pylian harbour, gave battle to the  
 Athenians. Demosthenes was a brave man, and  
 was defending himself gallantly, when in the heat  
 of the engagement a squadron of forty Athenian  
 ships appeared in the offing, to draw off the atten-  
 tion of the Lacedemonians from the land combat  
 by attacking their vessels: but these declining the  
 contest, the Athenians boldly fell upon them in  
 the very harbour, shattered and sunk most of the  
 Spartan fleet, and proceeded to lay siege to the  
 island. We may judge of the consternation into  
 which this disaster threw the Spartans, when we  
 are informed, that they submitted to ask a truce  
 of Demosthenes, and deputed an embassy to  
 Athens to propose peace. But the Athenians  
 always

B o o k always elate and insolent in prosperity, instead of

VII. consulting the real good of their desolated coun-  
Sect. 2. try by restoring to it the blessings of peace, insisted on terms altogether unreasonable, and even treated the ambassadors with insult. It was the clamorous, violent Cleon, that was again the adviser in this impolitic proceeding, to which the Athenians added an unpardonable breach of faith. When the truce was agreed on, the Spartans had given up their ships, on condition of receiving them back again, if the pacification did not take place. The Athenians made light of the promise, and refused to deliver them.

NEVERTHELESS, under all these disadvantages the Spartans carried on the siege of Pylus with great earnestness, at the same time omitting no means to supply their countrymen who were shut up in Sphacteria. The Athenians therefore began to have doubts of the success, the rather because, the winter drawing near, it was apprehended their fleet must soon be obliged to retire. These ill-boding appearances occasioned much murmuring among the people, and they now repented of their not having closed with the offers of Sparta. Cleon on the contrary insisted, that the blame lay in the remissness of their proceedings, and that if the new general whom they were now sending out would act with vigour, Sphacteria must surrender very shortly. This new general was Nicias : he made answer, ‘ that he would gladly resign the  
‘ command to a person of Cleon’s abilities ; nor  
‘ could that respectable character do his country  
‘ a more important service, than by taking on  
‘ himself the conduct of an expedition in which  
‘ he thought he could atchieve such wonders.’ The unexpected turn surprised Cleon, better accustomed to make shew of his courage in a popular

lar assembly than in the field of battle. The hu- B o o k  
mour of the proposal, however, exactly suited VII.  
the genius of an Athenian assembly, and accord- Sect. 2.  
ingly they urged it on the orator with loud accla-  
mations. Upon which Cleon, finding himself  
caught, had recourse to blustering, and declared,  
' that he would not only accept of the command,  
' but would moreover engage in twenty days to  
' bring the Spartans in Sphacteria prisoners to  
' Athens, or perish in the attempt.' This proud  
boast excited only laughter among the people;  
who looked as little for its accomplishment, as it  
is probable the reader will. And yet the event  
was much happier, than the abilities of such a ge-  
neral presaged.

THE character and fortune of Cleon being now  
at stake, the near prospect of danger sobered him.  
He began his operations with great prudence, se-  
conded with so much spirit, that having in con-  
junction with Demosthenes made a descent on the  
island, he quickly reduced the Spartans to extre-  
mity, and summoned them to surrender. There  
were left of them only two hundred and ninety,  
who seeing no hope of safety but by submitting,  
accepted the terms offered them, and were all  
conducted prisoners to Athens within the time  
Cleon had mentioned.

THIS year died Artaxerxes, and was succeeded  
by his son Xerxes, who was soon after murdered  
by Sogdianus, his natural brother. Darius, ano-  
ther of Artaxerxes' spurious offspring, revenged  
the death of Xerxes, and ascended the throne of  
Persia: he is known in history by the name of  
Darius Nothus. By the demise of Artaxerxes a  
project came to nothing, which deserves however  
to be recorded, because it proves, how much the  
fury of civil war had extinguished in the breast of  
the



**B o o k** the Athenians also every elevated sentiment, making that republic stoop to court the friendship of  
 VII. the common enemy, rather than not trample on  
 Sect. 2. the liberties of Greece. Certain Athenians, on their way to the Lesser Asia, where they had been commissioned to solicit money from the Grecian communities, met with Artaphernes, whom the Persian monarch was sending on an embassy to Sparta; and thinking it might be of special service to their country, they had him arrested, and transmitted to Athens. There the assembly released him immediately, on finding, or pretending to find, that his commission related to matters foreign to them, and at the same time thought the opportunity convenient for sending ambassadors to attend him back to Susa, with a compliment in the name of the Athenian people to the Great King. But, as we have said, this embassy was without effect; for the ambassadors, receiving at Ephesus the account of Artaxerxes' death, proceeded no farther.

Bef. Christ

423.

THE next year, the war continued to rage throughout Greece with unabated fury; and most of the Grecian states, besides their foreign dangers, had also dark plots and insurrections at home to guard against. This was the case particularly among the Boeotians and them of Megara; those in the interests of Athens conspiring to introduce a republican government, and the favourers of Sparta contending for the aristocracy. These contests brought on a battle near Delium, whither the Athenians had marched to support their Boeotian friends, which terminated after a bloody struggle to the disadvantage of the Athenians; in consequence, those who had connection with them were obliged to forsake Boeotia. Socrates was present at this battle, where he distinguished

guished himself by his firm undaunted behaviour ; B o o k  
and we have the testimony of Plato, that had all VII.  
the Athenians fought like this philosopher, they Sect. 2.  
had doubtless obtained the victory.

THE Spartans had now shifted the scene of their hostilities from Attica principally to Thrace, which they made choice of on many accounts. They had received earnest solicitations from those parts, Perdiccas of Macedonia, and several of the Thracian nations, having made them large offers. Then this was a rich country, abounding in mines, the chief source of the Athenian wealth. Besides, the Athenians held the island of Cythera near the promontory of Tænarus ; by which, and by the possession of Pylus, they so commanded Laconia, that it lay entirely open to their devastations. And yet the Spartans did not dare to make any diversion into Attica, because it had been decreed at Athens, that the prisoners taken in Sphacteria should have their lives so long only, as the forces of Lacedemon should abstain from the Attic borders ; and these prisoners were Spartans of the first distinction. The best resource therefore that remained to them, was to carry the war into Thrace, a country, in the fate of which Athens was too deeply interested to be careless of its defence. Historians add another motive, which reflects indelible reproach on the Spartan name : the Helotæ were become formidable, and they sought the occasion of sending abroad a number of them. Lately had two thousand been taken off, whom their services to the state had rendered too considerable : and this distant war was looked upon as a convenient opportunity of sacrificing more to the public jealousy. It is really matter of surprise, that these ill treated men should have kept any faith with such merciless, ungrateful masters.

THE

BOOK THE care of this expedition into Thrace was by VII. the Spartans committed to Brasidas, a man of ap- Sect. 2. proved abilities and courage, and what was of equal moment, moderate in the exercise of power, and a strict observer of justice towards the confederates; qualities which advanced his progress, not less than the force of arms. Acanthus, Stagira, and some other cities submitted to him: and shortly after, he sat down before Amphipolis, the most important place in those parts, from whence the Athenians were mostly supplied with ship timber, and in the neighbourhood of which were the gold mines. Already had the Athenians paid dear for this settlement by the loss of two successive colonies, entirely cut off by the neighbouring barbarians. We have noticed, that its name originally was *the Nine Ways*, changed for that of Amphipolis by Agnon, the leader of the last colony. The inhabitants immediately sent advice of their danger to Thucydides, one of the Athenian generals, then in the island Thasus. But before he could get thither, the city had surrendered to Brasidas, the besieged being tempted by the advantageous terms he offered them; and all that Thucydides could do, was to provide for the security of Eion, in which were repositied the naval stores of the Amphipolitans. Notwithstanding, though he was entirely guiltless of the loss of Amphipolis, the impatient Athenians condemned him to banishment. During this retirement from public business, he composed his history of the Peloponnesian war, that immortal work, which speaks its author possessed of all the finer talents of the statesman, as well as a complete master of the military art.

BRASIDAS, not content with the reduction of Amphipolis, attempted several other places; and most



most of the cities on the Thracian coast were pre- B o o k  
pared to open their gates to him, because his de- VII,  
claration to all was, ' that he was come thither Sect. 2.  
' with no other view than to restore them to their  
' liberties.' Distressed by this posture of affairs,  
the Athenians felt themselves inclined to agree to  
a truce, which the Spartans also long since wished  
for: and indeed all that the war had produced to  
both was expence and weakness, the loss of their  
bravest men, and the devastation of their country.  
A truce therefore was concluded for one year, to  
the great joy of all the inhabitants of both states,  
Brasidas and Cleon excepted. The former saw  
himself arrested in a career of victory, which ap-  
peared to lie open to him; and Cleon, who lov-  
ed tumult and confusion, dreaded the inactivity  
to which the approaching peace must consign him.  
However, Brasidas shewed not much regard to the  
truce: he was ignorant, or pretended ignorance,  
of its being concluded, and by his intrigues drew  
over many cities from the Athenians, even after  
the time appointed for its commencement. Cleon,  
on the other hand, moved the people to avenge  
those wrongs with immediate war; and an army  
was sent to reduce the places which Brasidas had  
persuaded to revolt.

THE next year, the ill observed truce expired, Bes. Christ  
422. and Cleon was chosen to command in Thrace.  
His success at Sphaacteria had added considerably to  
the natural insolence of this man's temper, who  
now promised himself that no enemy would dare  
to look him in the face. Brasidas was no stranger  
to his character: he indulged the vanity of the  
giddy general, and affecting to retire before him,  
shut himself up in Amphipolis. This artifice  
proved the destruction of Cleon. He ascribed the  
conduct of the Spartan to fear, and in defiance  
of

BOOK of him made it his pride to march frequently under the very walls of the city, with his forces careleſs and in looſe array. Braſidas, waiting his opportunity, ſallied forth on a certain day when Cleon leaſt expected it, and charging his left wing, routed it without much difficulty: the right wing fought well, but at length was worſted alſo. This had been a uſeful victory to Sparta, had it not coſt her the life of the brave Braſidas. As for Cleon, that *bold* man fled, as ſoon as he ſaw danger approach him, and was ſlain by a common ſoldier.

A PEACE between the contending commonwealths was the conſequence of the deaths of their two champions. Nicias, of a temper leſs inclined to war, and unwilling to expoſe to hazard the good fortune that had hitherto attended him, laboured earneſtly, in conjunction with Plistoanax king of Sparta, to bring about an accommodation. Plistoanax, we have ſaid already, had been baniſhed. Nineteen years he remained in exile, till an oracle was drawn by ſubornation from the prieſteſs at Delphi, which commanded the Lacedemonians to recal him. His enemies ſuſpected the deceit, and failed not to repreſent every diſtreſs which the war occaſioned to Sparta, as a viſitation for this inſult offered to religion and the laws of their country. Hence did Plistoanax become a zealous advocate for the peace, which accordingly was concluded and ſworn to for fifty years, after the war had continued ten years complete.

Beſ. Chriſt  
421.

It was not long however, before the gladdening proſpect, opened to Greece by this treaty, was again clouded over. In the firſt place, ſeveral of the Grecian ſtates objected to it, as a convention which threatened much danger to their common liberties:

liberties : for by one of the articles it was provided, ‘ that it should be lawful to add unto, or ‘ take away from the same, whatsoever should ‘ seem good to the Lacedemonians and Athenians;’ and by a subsequent agreement Athens and Sparta engaged ‘ mutually to support each other against ‘ all powers whatsoever.’ On these accounts, a new confederacy was formed between the people of Argos, Mantinea, Elis, the Corinthians, and Bœotians. Neither was Sparta by any means careful to perform her part of the terms stipulated, one of the principal of which was, ‘ that all places ‘ and prisoners taken in the course of the war should ‘ be restored :’ some places, notwithstanding, were not restored, and others were not delivered up till they had previously been dismantled. Such manifest infractions provoked those of Athens to continue their garrison in Pylus : and the old animosities began to revive between the rival states.

IN this situation of things, it was no difficult matter for Alcibiades, who now affected to take the lead in the public councils, by ripening the seeds of discontent to bring forward a war, which he believed to be the readiest instrument for sinking the credit of Nicias, and shewing himself to advantage. The endeavours of Socrates had not been wanting, as we have remarked already, to restrain this dangerous young man, who on his part did certainly respect his preceptor highly, and gladly listened to his instructions : but his natural vivacity, the torrent of his passions, the various dissipations to which his riches exposed him, the seduction of flatterers, soon effaced from the mind of Alcibiades the wholesome lessons of wisdom ; and ambition and the love of pleasure took possession of him entirely. He stands now upon record

an

Book VII.  
Sect. 2.  
Bos. Christ  
420.



BOOK an example of the melancholy truth, that those  
 VII. very advantages, wit, eloquence, gracefulness of  
 Sect. 2. form, affluence of fortune, which might render  
 men most amiable and praiseworthy, contribute  
 frequently, and in no small degree, to make them  
 miserable.

THE first essay of Alcibiades in politics betrayed  
 envy and deceitfulness. Nicias had been labour-  
 ing to compose the differences between the two  
 commonwealths; and ambassadors from Sparta  
 were actually in Athens with full powers to adjust  
 all matters in dispute: they had applied to him  
 (for the peace was looked upon to be his work)  
 and he had introduced them into the senate,  
 where they had declared the purport of their  
 embassy, and the extent of their commission.  
 Mortified by this preference shewn by the Spartans  
 to Nicias, Alcibiades set himself to confound their  
 measures; in which view, the night before they  
 were to appear before the assembly of the people,  
 the court of ultimate decision in matters of this  
 nature, he invited the ambassadors to his house,  
 and there under the semblance of friendship he  
 recommended it to them to be more sparing of  
 their offers on the morrow, particularly not to  
 own what powers they were invested with, as that  
 would tempt the people to impose on them many  
 conditions hard and unreasonable. The plausible  
 counsel pleased the simple men; so that, on the  
 following day, when they were asked in the  
 General Assembly, whether they were empowered  
 finally to settle all matters, they denied what they  
 had before acknowledged in the Senate of Five  
 Hundred. Great was the amazement of Nicias on  
 this unexpected occasion; but greater still was that  
 of the ambassadors, when they heard the false Alci-  
 biades reproach them with want of sincerity, and  
 charge

charge the Lacedemonians as a designing, faithless people, who one day affirmed what the next day they denied. This wicked artifice widened the breach between the two states, both complaining highly of injuries; and shortly after, the Athenians, by the management of Alcibiades, concluded an alliance with the Argives, the Mantineans, and those of Elis. In this manner, through the dark policy of one ambitious citizen, did Athens see herself plunged again into the miseries of war.

IN the fourth year of the eighty ninth Olympiad, which was the twelfth from the beginning of the war, military preparations were carried on through most parts of Greece, but no action ensued. Faint and languid after the many wasting toils they had endured, the Grecians shewed no longer that spirit which they had exerted at first. Neither did the three or four campaigns that followed produce any thing very remarkable. Their summers were mostly spent in fruitless marches, or in forming intrigues in several states, and bringing about revolutions in their municipal government. Thus Argos, it appears, in the space of two years changed her political form not less than three times; and (dreadful to think!) every revolution was deeply marked with blood, the prevailing party signalizing its revenge by the most savage cruelties. The long use of war seems to have steeled their hearts against all the tender feelings of mercy; and we find several affecting instances upon record, that the Athenians themselves were become bloody and relentless. One of these respects Scione, a city of Thrace. It had received Brasidas, but after the peace concluded with Sparta, fell again under the power of the Athenians, who, to punish the Scioneans for their defection,

Esf. Christi  
419.

BOOK defection, put to the sword all the men without

VII. distinction, and condemned the women and children to servitude. Their treatment of the Melians

Sec. 2. was yet more barbarous. Melos was an island in the Egean sea, which had always adhered to Sparta unalterably. In the sixteenth year of the

Bef. Christ  
415.

war, it was besieged by a fleet from Athens, and after a gallant defence, the inhabitants were obliged to submit at discretion. Here were no aggravating circumstances to palliate the guilt of uncommon severity: nevertheless the Athenians massacred all the Melians capable of bearing arms, and made slaves of the rest. Time was, when such brave men would have met with more kindness at the hands of the Athenian people. But what most of all proclaims how degenerate and inhuman the Athenians now were, is a resolution, not suddenly made in the hurry and wrath of battle, but framed deliberately in the senate of Athens: it was decreed, that ‘as many as they should take alive in naval combat, should have their right hands cut off.’

Bef. Christ  
414.

THE year after the expedition to Melos, the war began to have a more important appearance, and to threaten many other nations besides those of Greece. The people of Egesta, a city of Sicily, had sent ambassadors to Athens to solicit succours against their neighbours of Selinus, who had attacked them in conjunction with the Syracusans. It has been often remarked in the course of our narration, how desirable the Athenians esteemed the possession of that fruitful island. Alcibiades also, fond of adventurous projects, laboured much to engage them in an expedition, the certain effects of which he assured them would be unlimited conquest, wealth, and glory. The treasures of Sicily were but a poor reward for them to have in prospect:



prospect: they were from that beginning of **Book** success to pass over into Africa, and take Carthage; then Italy was to feel the power of their **VII.** arms; till at length their empire should extend itself over the whole world. Such were the wild dreams in which the aspiring Alcibiades indulged himself; and with the same airy phantasies did he contrive to fill the heads of his countrymen, his magnificent style of living, his largesses, his engaging eloquence, giving strength and plausibility to whatever he advanced: so that, in spite of the opposition of Nicias and the wisest men of the state, the enterprise was resolved upon, and an army ordered immediately for Sicily. Nicias and Lamachus were joined in the command of this army with Alcibiades, probably at the instance of the soberer Athenians, in order to temper the violence of his daring spirit.

THE popularity however of this celebrated Athenian began to ebb, almost at the instant of its arriving at the flow; whether it were the effect of his own folly, or the contrivance of his enemies, historians seem to leave undecided. The Athenians were in all ages remarkable for the character which the apostle Paul ascribes to them; they were extremely addicted to their religion, and held the many deities, with which the city abounded, in the highest reverence. It happened, when every thing was in readiness for the departure of the fleet, that on a certain night all the statues of Mercury throughout Athens were thrown down and disfigured. Most of the houses had these statues before them; and the report was, that some young men of quality, with Alcibiades at their head, had been guilty of the impiety, and that at the same time they had profaned the Eleusinian rites, the most sacred of the

BOOK Athenian mysteries. The dissolute manners of  
 VII. Alcibiades, and the avowed levity with which he  
 Sect. 2. had always treated the religion of his country,  
 rendered the accusation credible. Nevertheless  
 he was so dear to the soldiery, that it was thought  
 the wisest policy to defer the prosecution ; and  
 though Alcibiades insisted on an immediate trial,  
 yet his enemies prevailed, and he was obliged to  
 set out for Sicily.

HISTORIANS speak highly of the pomp and  
 expence of this equipment : it was, we are told,  
 the most sumptuous Athens had ever sent forth.  
 The galleys amounted to an hundred and forty in  
 number, all completely furnished, and adorned  
 in the richest manner. Besides the naval forces, a  
 considerable land army went aboard the transports,  
 most of them chosen men, and many of them of  
 the first families in Athens. The success however  
 by no means corresponded to the greatness of the  
 preparation. The first exploits of the Athenians  
 were inconsiderable : they found no encourage-  
 ment on the coasts of Italy, and in Sicily the only  
 place they could make themselves masters of was  
 Catana. This slow progress was partly owing to  
 their unsteady counsels. Alcibiades and Lamachus  
 were for active measures, whilst the enemy was in  
 consternation : Nicias, on the contrary, dispirited  
 the army by his ill-timed apprehensions, urging  
 that they should immediately abandon the design,  
 because the Egestans were not able to make good  
 the large payments they had promised for the  
 support of the Athenian forces. But the most  
 unlucky circumstance attending this expedition  
 was the recal of Alcibiades, the spirit that animated  
 every enterprise, and the best beloved of the  
 three commanders. No sooner had the fleet  
 sailed, than his enemies began to stir up the super-  
 stitious

stitious populace, and to inflame them with re- Book  
 sentment against a man who had dared to ridicule VII.  
 the most awful ceremony of their religion. These Sect. 2.  
 suggestions wrought so effectually, that the  
*Salaminian galley*, which was always employed on  
 occasions of this nature, was dispatched for  
 Alcibiades, and he was obliged to surrender him-  
 self prisoner; but the galley having put in at  
 Thurium, he contrived to make his escape, and  
 passing over to Elis, fled to Lacedemon.

FROM this time the care of the war devolved on  
 two persons, neither of whom was equal to the  
 task: Nicias, slow and irresolute, full of weak fears,  
 and apt to interpret every intervening accident into  
 an omen important and significative; and Lama-  
 chus, a good officer, but without influence, being  
 rendered contemptible by the narrowness of his  
 fortune, a circumstance which would have pro-  
 duced no such effect in the days of Aristides,  
 before affluence and pleasures had corrupted the  
 Athenian simplicity. At length the two generals,  
 after some unimportant operations, sat down be-  
 fore Syracuse, which they besieged by sea and  
 land. Syracuse was a city of great wealth and  
 power: it had long enjoyed a flourishing com-  
 merce, and its inhabitants and allies were numer-  
 ous and expert in war. Nevertheless the Athe-  
 nians carried on the siege with great success; they  
 had beaten the Syracusans, their works were ad-  
 vancing considerably, and they had already got  
 possession of Epipolæ, an eminence which command-  
 ed the city. Embassadors therefore were deputed  
 from the Syracusans to their foundress Corinth,  
 with directions to go on to Lacedemon to implore  
 assistance, which both these states readily promised,  
 and Gylippus a Spartan officer was ordered to  
 Syracuse.



**BOOK** MEAN time the affairs of the Syracusans were  
**VII.** become desperate. Nicias had carried his works  
**SECT. 2.** much closer to the city, and the Syracusans finding themselves extremely pressed had ventured an engagement, in which, though they had the fortune to cut off Lamachus, they had on the whole succeeded so ill, that a great part of Sicily declared for the Athenians; so that it appeared impossible to save Syracuse. In this juncture arrived Gylippus. It is highly probable, had Nicias marched out against him, there had been an end of the war; for the Lacedemonian was attended with a very small party, having come to Sicily with four ships only. But Nicias, who from success was become vain and boastful, remained within his lines, despising, as he said, a man who with so inconsiderable a force conceived hopes of opposing his progress. This contempt cost him dear. Gylippus made his way into the city, inspired the Syracusans with new vigour, and led them out against the enemy. He failed however in his first attempt: but with a candour, of which there are few examples, having laid the blame of the misfortune on the wrong disposition he himself had made, he altered his arrangement, and in another attack the following day dislodged the Athenians with great slaughter. The spirit of Nicias sunk under this disaster: he dispatched an express to Athens, to demand a supply of men, and other generals to be sent in place of himself, whose infirmities, he urged, rendered him unequal to the burden of an expedition so difficult and unpromising.

**Bef. Christ** THE enterprising genius of the Athenians was  
**413.** not to be damped by this account. On the contrary, they ordered immediately to Sicily a reinforcement of land forces, and a considerable fleet,  
 under

under the command of Eurymedon, and of that Book  
 Demosthenes whose valour had so much distin- VII.  
 guished him at Pylus. These two were joined in Sect. 2.  
 commission with Nicias, who, till their arrival,  
 was to share his command with two officers  
 already in the army, Menander and Euthy-  
 demon.

THE rashness of this effort of the Athenian  
 people will appear the more surprising, when we  
 are informed, that a Lacedemonian army under  
 the orders of king Agis was at this very time  
 ravaging Attica. That prince had taken possession  
 of Decelea, a castle not far from Sunium, where  
 he fixed a strong garrison, whose continual in-  
 cursions greatly annoyed the Athenians, so that  
 they were forced to bring their provisions round  
 by sea, at great expence and hazard. Till this  
 period the enemy returned only after an interval  
 of some months, and the Athenians enjoyed at  
 least their winters in peace: but, from the forti-  
 fying of Decelea, they were blocked up, and the  
 campaign in a manner lasted throughout the year.  
 Nevertheless the hopes of extending their con-  
 quests in Sicily blinded them to all dangers, and  
 their strength was wantonly consumed away in a  
 foreign war, whilst their own country was wasted  
 by a victorious enemy.

GYLIPPUS had lost no part of the interven-  
 ing time through want of exertion, being ex-  
 tremely active in soliciting succours from many  
 of the cities as well of Sicily as of Italy;  
 by whose aid, and by the accession of the ships  
 from Corinth, finding himself in possession of a  
 strong fleet, he determined to try his fortune in a  
 naval engagement. This was a bold experiment  
 against a people, esteemed the most formidable at  
 sea of any in the known world: however, it was  
 the

BOOK the only way of saving Syracuse. Gylippus ran  
 VII. the hazard, and though defeated, yet did he  
 Sect. 2. derive signal advantage from the battle; for his  
 seamen were made acquainted with the Athenian  
 manner, and he had the good fortune to destroy  
 three forts, built by the Athenians at Plei-  
 myrium, which commanded the entrance of the  
 Syracusan port. Soon after this, advice was  
 brought him of the preparations at Athens, which  
 determined him to venture a second engagement  
 at sea, before Demosthenes should reach Sicily. In  
 this the cautious Nicias would hardly have grati-  
 fied him; but the new generals, Menander and  
 Euthydemon, willing to have the honour of some  
 exploit, earnestly urged him to support the glory  
 of his country by accepting the enemy's chal-  
 lenge. A battle was the consequence, in which  
 Gylippus was victorious. The ensuing day,  
 arrived the Athenian fleet with Demosthenes and  
 Eurymedon. This encrease of enemies extremely  
 terrified the Syracusans: they saw the war gather-  
 ing new strength against them, and the surmount-  
 ing of one difficulty only opened the view to  
 another. Under every discouragement Gylippus  
 supported their sinking hopes, seconding his  
 counsels with so much energy of action, that  
 Demosthenes having attempted in the night to  
 surprise the city by land was repulled, and a great  
 number of the Athenians slain.

So brave a resistance would of itself have  
 quenched the hopes of the besiegers, if the plague  
 had not also broken out among the Athenian  
 troops; insomuch that Demosthenes himself was  
 now of opinion, their only resource was to hasten  
 away from that fatal island. Nicias, after some  
 difficulty, acceding to the measure, it was agreed  
 to conceal, if possible, their design from the enemy.



But an accident prevented this. An eclipse of the B o o k  
moon took place when the fleet was ready to sail, VII.  
which the awe-struck Nicias interpreted according Sect. 2.  
to his own superstition; the soothsayers also confirmed his foolish fears, and declared that the departure of the army must be deferred for three times nine days. The delay, as might have been expected, gave opportunity to the Syracusans to discover what the Athenians intended; whereupon Gylippus, apprehensive that so considerable an army (for the Athenian forces, after all the losses they had sustained, were upwards of forty thousand) might yet be able to effect something of importance, set himself to prevent their escape.

THE Syracusans, drawing out their troops, and at the same time manning all their gallies, commenced a general and vigorous attack upon the Athenians by sea and land. The Athenians received them gallantly, but at length were obliged to retreat, with the loss of their admiral Eurymedon, and according to Diodorus, of eighty ships of war and more than two thousand men. Immediately on this success, the Syracusans blocked up the harbour's mouth with iron chains and a range of vessels, through which the Athenians resolved to force a passage at all hazards. They had yet remaining an hundred and fifteen gallies. On these they embarked the flower of their army, while the rest of their men were drawn up on shore, to support and encourage them. This firm countenance did not intimidate the Syracusans: they fell upon their enemies with loud and dreadful cries, pressing and pursuing them to the opening of the port, where as many as endeavoured to break through, struck against the boom, and were driven back. And now did both  
parties

**B o o k** parties engage with incredible fury, the Athenians VII. animated by despair, the Syracusans by the desire of Sect. 2. revenge. Neither pity nor fear were listened to; no quarter was given, where a vessel was boarded; and in the very agonies of death, and while they were sinking into the bosom of the deep, numbers were seen exerting themselves to wound and destroy their adversaries. In the end, fortune declared entirely against the Athenians, who broken and spiritless quitted the fight, leaving behind them many of their bravest men, and the greatest part of their fleet; whilst the shore resounded with the shouts of the victorious Syracusans.

Nicias and Demosthenes, distracted by their misfortunes, and scarcely knowing what course to take, determined to abandon the few ships that remained to them, and to make their way by land. And had they marched off that night, probably they might have escaped. But Hermocrates, the Syracusan general, amused them with false intelligence: he employed persons to give them notice, that an ambuscade was prepared for them, by which, if they deferred not their march, they would certainly be intercepted. His object was to gain time for his wearied forces to refresh themselves after their late service, particularly as it was the festival of Hercules, a day of great rejoicing in Syracuse. The generals believed the deceitful report, and after two days set out with the army,

Nothing could be more dismal than this departure. Fallen from the summit of prosperity, the army of Athens were turning their backs on their enemy, disgraced and vanquished, thinned in their numbers, wasted by fruitless toils, compelled to abandon their fellow soldiers, whom their wounds would not permit to be moved, and  
who

who seeing themselves given up to destruction, Book  
 and cut off from the hope of ever beholding VII.  
 their country more, filled the air with affecting Sect. 2.  
 lamentations, or grieved the hearts of the by-  
 standers with the bitterness of reproach. The  
 horrors of this dreadful scene were also deepened  
 to the retreating army by apprehensions for their  
 own safety. They had a long wearisome march to  
 pursue through ways they were strangers to, de-  
 prived of every conveniency, and exposed to the  
 malice of an exasperated enemy. With these  
 ill-boding thoughts they left the neighbourhood  
 of Syracuse; nor was it long before their fears  
 were justified by the appearance of a body of the  
 enemy, who hung upon their rear, and galled  
 and harrassed them without intermission. For the  
 space of five days did they proceed in this distress-  
 ful manner, struggling through numberless difficul-  
 ties, and winning every pass at infinite hazard.  
 On the morning of the sixth day, Demosthenes,  
 who had in the night missed his route, found  
 himself surrounded by the enemy, and was obliged  
 to surrender at discretion, with about six thousand  
 men. Nicias was gone on with the bulk of the  
 army; but, two days after, he also was encom-  
 passed at the river Asinarus, and forced to sur-  
 render on the same terms as Demosthenes, to save  
 his unhappy men from immediate slaughter: for  
 so reduced were they by excessive fatigue and  
 want of necessaries, that they had not strength re-  
 maining to defend themselves against the merciless  
 enemy.

THE scene, that was next displayed, was yet  
 more melancholy. The two generals were tried,  
 and sentenced to die, for having wantonly, and  
 from wicked motives, made war on a people that  
 never injured them. This severe decision was  
 opposed



BOOK opposed by many, even by Gylippus himself, who

VII. was anxious to save Nicias particularly, a man  
Sect. 2. revered by all for his exemplary virtues and distinguished piety, and known to have always advised pacific measures. Notwithstanding, they were both put to death. The rest of the army were treated with not less rigour, excepting only that their lives were spared to them : they were condemned to a grievous and perpetual servitude, and most of them for a time were adjudged to work in the quarries, where they endured miseries beyond description. Report says, that the fate of the natives of Athens proved far happier than that of the other sharers in misfortune, and that some of them were even restored to liberty, from respect to the excellent endowments with which their minds were enriched. Their masters were exalted into rapture on hearing the sublime compositions of the poets of Greece, especially those of Euripides, and could not forbear compassionating the fate of those amiable captives. Such power have the lettered arts : they procured to their possessors favour and deliverance even in a hostile land.

WHEN the heavy tidings of this disaster were confirmed at Athens (for at first the story was looked upon as incredible) the whole city was in confusion. The golden dream of ambition was vanished ; their fleets were destroyed ; their chosen men cut off by the sword, or groaning in captivity ; and their arms and equipments of war all in the hands of the enemy. Besides, ruin threatened Athens itself from every side. Attica was desolate, the Spartans had cantoned themselves in the midst of her ; Eubœa, the other islands of the Egean, and the cities of Ionia were meditating a revolt ; and the Persian king

king had concluded an alliance with Lace-Book  
demon. VII.

PRESSING, however, and complicated as these Sect. 2.  
difficulties were, the state of Athens retained her  
accustomed dignity. It was resolved to act with  
vigour, and to fit out other fleets. All the money,  
that remained in the treasury, was applied to the  
necessities of the commonwealth; every super-  
fluous expence was retrenched; as many as were  
able to serve, offered themselves; and even private  
grief seemed to be absorbed in the concern for  
the public safety. What is most extraordinary,  
and a proof how far this spirited people might  
have gone, had they always retained their virtue,  
no sooner was a fleet in readiness, than it was  
ordered to Samos, to prevent the defection of the  
neighbouring islands. The nations around con-  
tinued to dread them, low as their condition ap-  
peared to be. The cities of Greece were forming  
leagues against them; new allies were sought;  
negotiations were carrying on both with Pharna-  
bazus and Tisaphernes, satraps, the one of  
Lydia, the other of the parts near the Hellespont;  
and on every side were the Lacedemonians soli-  
citing aid, as if even now they distrusted their  
own strength; whilst Athens, like a lion at bay,  
seemed to defy these conspiring powers, and made  
the issue questionable.

ALCIBIADES had been a principal agent in all Bef. Christ  
the measures concerted against his country, as 412.  
long as he enjoyed the favour of Sparta, who  
followed his counsel, particularly, in the fortify-  
ing of Decelea. But after some time, he lost also  
the confidence of the Spartans. He had injured  
king Agis in the most sensible manner. And it  
had been found, that the insinuating arts he  
practised among them, and his affectation of the  
Spartan

**BOOK** Spartan frugality, were only the doublings of his  
 VII. ambition, to gain to himself regard and influence.

**Sect. 2.** His character and deportment in his own country have been already described: even among the Athenians, vicious as they then were, his profuse and dissolute life was a reproach to him. At Sparta he might have passed for one of the strictest disciples of Lycurgus: his garb simple, his food coarse, the roughest exercise seemed welcome to him, and not a Spartan could endure better the extremities of hunger and thirst, of heat and cold. Yet was this nothing more than deceit and outward semblance; the heart was still the same; and at this very time he was seducing the wife of Agis, his protector and friend. The injured prince coming to the knowledge of the intrigue, applies to the Ephori, by whom missives were sent to Asia, whither Alcibiades was gone to negotiate the Spartan affairs, with directions to put him to death. The design got wind, and Alcibiades took refuge at the court of Tissaphernes, where the same plianeness of manners so commended him to the favour of that Persian lord, that his plotting genius found again the opportunity of exerting itself. Determined to be revenged on Sparta, he suggested to Tissaphernes, that it was not his interest to seek the present destruction of Athens, which would render Sparta too powerful; that his business was rather, by assisting always the weaker state, to make them consume and ruin one the other. He likewise entertained a correspondence with the army of Athens at Samos, promising to succour and reinstate his country in her former prosperity, if the popular government were once abolished, and the public concerns committed to persons whose steadiness might be relied on. Resentment against the superstitious populace, who  
 were



were the chief promoters of his banishment, dictated this last condition, which yet he ascribed to the unwillingness of Tissaphernes to trust the people. It occasioned much commotion at Athens. At length however a Council of *four hundred* was established, who dissolved the senate of the Prytanes, annulled the popular assembly, but preserved still the appearance of a democracy : for they chose five thousand persons to be convened as occasion required, and to debate on all matters in the name of the people. But here the wily politician found himself mistaken in his counsels ; for when the *four hundred* were once invested with power, they refused to recal a man of whose abilities they stood in awe : so that he was obliged to fall in with the views of the army at Samos, who elected him their general.

BOOK  
VII.

SECT. 2.

Bef Christ  
411.

ATHENS seems to have been now in a very distressful situation. Those in power had lost the affection of the people at home : abroad, the army was entirely against them. Eubœa, the island whence the Athenians drew most of their provisions, was in the hands of the Peloponnesians. And a treaty was on foot between Agis and the Four hundred, to betray Athens to him. Mean while, the soldiers at Samos were instant to go to Athens, in order to eject the usurpers by force of arms ; which they had certainly executed, had not Alcibiades restrained them by representing the imprudence of abandoning Ionia to the Spartans, and counselling them rather to send deputies to Athens to demand the restoring of the ancient government. This salutary advice preserved the republic. The Four hundred were deposed without tumult, and a decree was passed for the recalling of Alcibiades, of which nevertheless he did not immediately avail himself.

Bef Christ  
410.

HIS

**BOOK VII.** His first care was to fix Tissaphernes in the Athenian interest, and to prevent the sailing of  
 Sect. 2. the Phœnicians, who had received orders to join  
 Bef. Christ the Peloponnesian allies. Whilst he was employ-  
 409. ed on this commission, a part of the Athenian fleet had made towards the Hellespont, in pursuit of Dorieus admiral of the Syracusan galleys, and of Mindarus the Spartan. Alcibiades therefore, willing to signalize his revocation by some exploit, hastened after them with about twenty ships, and coming up at the very time of the engagement, when the Lacedæmonians least expected it, joined his countrymen; which turned the fortune of the day entirely in their favour, notwithstanding the efforts of Pharnabazus, who had marched down to the sea shore to support Mindarus. This success had nigh proved fatal to the Athenian chief. In  
 Bef. Christ the pride of victory having ventured to shew him-  
 408. self to Tissaphernes, and affecting to display before him the spoils he had taken, the Persian, who had too much policy openly to avow the Athenians whilst his master was in league with Sparta, commanded him to be seized, as a traitor to the Great King. He soon however found means to escape out of the hands of Tissaphernes, and went again in pursuit of the Lacedæmonians.

At this time Mindarus lay with the Spartan fleet before Cyzicus, a city of Mysia; and at a small distance from him was Pharnabazus encamped, with a powerful army. In spite of this formidable shew, Alcibiades resolved to hazard a battle; accordingly, having ordered a body of his troops to land and attack Pharnabazus, he himself engaged the Spartans. The dispute was sharp and obstinate: but in the end the Athenians prevailed on every side; the Persians were routed, the Spartan fleet destroyed, and Mindarus

rus slain. Terrified at the defeat, Pharnabazus Book  
covenanted to concern himself no farther in the VII.  
war against Athens. Even the Spartans were so Sect. 2.  
humbled, that they condescended at this time to  
sue for peace. But the Athenians, always inso-  
lent in success, proudly rejected all terms of ac-  
commodation, losing by this imprudence an op-  
portunity that never offered more.

AFTER rendering his country some other ser- Ref. Christ  
vices, Alcibiades, crowned with glory, returned 407.  
to Athens, where he was received in triumph,  
amidst the loudest acclamations. All the people  
crowded out to the Piræus to meet him; the holy  
heralds were ordered to change the execrations  
they had pronounced against him into solemn  
blessings; and the only strife was, who should pay  
the highest honours to the *deliverer of his country*.  
Yet here was the final close of the prosperity of  
Alcibiades. After he had for some time enjoyed  
the exultations of his fellow citizens, he was call-  
ed away from Athens by new disturbances break-  
ing out in some of the Grecian islands, and by the  
dangerous posture likewise of the Athenian affairs  
in Asia.

CYRUS, second son to Darius Nothus, had been  
appointed governor of all the provinces of the  
Lesser Asia, being raised at the age of sixteen  
years to this important post by the intrigues of his  
mother Parysatis, who had it in her views to sup-  
plant his elder brother Artaxerxes, and to place  
him on the Persian throne. Lysander also had  
been sent from Sparta to command in the room of  
Mindarus. This new admiral possessed in ample  
measure all the arts, that could recommend him at  
a court such as that of Cyrus: supple, insinuating,  
a zealous admirer of the young prince (who in  
truth was adorned with several excellent qualifica-  
tions)



BOOK tions) he knew how to give his flattery an effect

VII. not to be resisted by Cyrus, accustomed as he had  
 Sect. 2. unfortunately been from his infant years to the  
 adulations of the servile and degenerate Persians.  
 Besides, the prince had received directions at Susa  
 to support the Lacedemonian interest, which he  
 was the more disposed to do out of hatred to Tissa-  
 phernes, whose connections with Alcibiades were  
 at least suspected. So that the Athenians lost all  
 hopes of assistance on the side of Persia.

THESE changes made it necessary for Alcibiades  
 to take a progress through the Ionian cities, in  
 order to solicit supplies. The care of the fleet,  
 during his absence, he committed to Antiochus,  
 an officer who had no other merit than that of  
 being minister to his pleasures. He had given him  
 a strict injunction to act only defensively, without  
 attempting any thing : but the vanity of Antio-  
 chus could not resist the temptation of command-  
 ing on a day of battle, and having accordingly  
 defied Lyfander, he was routed with the loss of  
 fifteen gallies. Such an instance of ill conduct in  
 Alcibiades afforded too fair a pretence to those  
 that envied him, not to be improved to his destruc-  
 tion. The people, who never forgave the want  
 of success, listened eagerly to his accusers : he  
 was deprived, and ten admirals were appointed to  
 command in his stead.

Bef. Christ THE following year, happened the memorable  
 406. fight at Arginusæ, three islands situated between  
 Lesbos and the Asiatic coast. Callicratidas, who  
 had succeeded Lyfander, besieged Conon, one of  
 the Athenian admirals, in the port of Mitylene.  
 To extricate him, the other admirals attacked the  
 Spartans with the ships remaining under their or-  
 ders ; which they did with so much spirit and suc-  
 cess, that Callicratidas was slain, and seventy of  
 his

his ships were sunk or taken. It could hardly be thought credible, that so glorious a victory should furnish matter of crimination against the very men, by whose valour and conduct it was obtained. It happened, that in the fight there were sunk twenty-five of the Athenian gallies; and directions had been given to Theramenes to take up the bodies of those who perished in them, and to perform to them the last duties: for among all the Grecian tribes it was accounted the greatest impiety to suffer their citizens to be deprived of the rites of sepulture. A storm arising, Theramenes had it not in his power to execute his orders; a circumstance, which on his return to Athens he found to have given occasion to much murmuring. To exculpate himself therefore, he charged the admirals with having neglected this important office; sure of being successful in inflaming the Athenians to resentment, where their superstitions were in question. In vain did the admirals represent the service they had performed, the shattered condition of their ships, the tempestuous weather that followed—all their remonstrances were ineffectual, and they were condemned to pay for the supposed omission with their lives. At the first, many of the Athenians opposed the cruel sentence; but terrified by the violence of the people, who threatened to involve in the same fate as many as should appear in their behalf, they all desisted, the philosopher Socrates only excepted. He happened to be *Epistates*, or President of the day; by virtue of which office, for the space of four and twenty hours he suspended the execution of that unjust decree, boldly exposing himself to all the fury of the impetuous multitude.

Of the ten admirals, six were executed; two were not present at the engagement, Canon and

**BOOK VII.** Leon; and two saved themselves by flight. Diodorus has recorded a remarkable speech made by one of these unhappy victims of popular phrensy, Diomedon, a man of blameless manners and high military character. As they were leading him out, 'O Athenians,' said he, 'may the sentence, by which we die this day, issue in the prosperity and happiness of this commonwealth! Our last breath shall be employed in praying for our country. But at least remember, that our vows and thanksgivings to the immortal gods, who blessed our arms with victory, are yet unpaid: since it is no longer in our power, be it your care to discharge that solemn duty.' He said, and marched on to execution. The same author adds, that they were attended by all the virtuous citizens, melting into tears at the undeserved fate and noble deportment of those excellent men. One may well wonder, how a people capable of so signal an ingratitude should ever find generals to fight their battles: and indeed we shall presently see this iniquitous condemnation severely visited on them. However the people soon discerned the injustice they had been guilty of, and testified their repentance by pursuing with hatred those who had been foremost in the prosecution.

**Ref. Christ 425.** THE ensuing year, the Lacedemonians prospered greatly: for Lyfander, who had been reinstated in the command, was all-powerful with Cyrus, even to that degree, that when the young prince, on account of some acts of cruelty he had been guilty of, received orders from his father Darius to return to Susa, he gave directions that the tribute of all his provinces should be paid to the Lacedemonian admiral. With such a support, Lyfander was enabled to enterprize mighty things: he



he surpris'd several of the islands ; he reduced B o o k  
 part of Caria ; and laid siege to Lampſacus, an VII.  
 opulent city on the ſtreights of the Hellespont. Sect. 2.  
 The Athenian fleet at this time was commanded by  
 Conon, Adiamantus, and Philocles, who imme-  
 diately haſtened to the relief of this confederate  
 city ; but learning on their way that it was already  
 in the hands of the enemy, they anchored at  
 Ægos-potamos, a place on the Thracian coaſt,  
 oppoſite to Lampſacus.

It was the purpoſe of Conon and his colleagues  
 to provoke the Spartans to an engagement, who  
 lay only at two miles diſtance from them ; and  
 therefore early each day was their fleet formed in  
 line of battle. On the ſide of the Spartan general,  
 however, there appeared no haſte to accept the  
 challenge ; ſo that the Athenians grew remiſs and  
 licentious, the ſoldiers generally going on ſhore  
 towards the cloſe of the day, to ſpend the night  
 in relaxation and revelling. In this manner for a  
 conſiderable time did the expert Lyſander indulge  
 the ſecurity of the enemy, when on a certain  
 evening, ſoon as the light veſſels, ſtationed to  
 watch when the Athenians went on ſhore, had  
 given the ſignal, he ordered his fleet to move on,  
 and attack the Athenian gallies. Conon was the  
 firſt that perceived them advancing, and he did  
 all that could be done in that exigency. He com-  
 manded the alarm to be ſounded ; he himſelf call-  
 ed aloud on his men, he beſought, he threatened ;  
 but all to no purpoſe : they were already diſperſed  
 along the ſhore, many of them overwhelmed with  
 ſleep, all of them unarmed and in confuſion ; and  
 the few that got on ſhipboard, and endeavour'd to  
 make oppoſition, loſt their lives in the attempt.  
 Thus all at once, at a ſingle blow, was the  
 ſtrength of Athens deſtroyed ; Conon, with eight

**B o o k** gallies only, escaping to Cyprus. The other generals, with three thousand Athenians, were made  
**VII.** prisoners : of these Adiamantus alone was spared, because in the prosecution of the war he had shewed mercy ; the rest were all put to death.

**Sect. 2.** **CONSTERNATION**, such as that republic had never experienced before, hung over Athens at the receipt of this important news ; while Lyfander pursued his victory, and reduced all the cities and islands that had been subject to the Athenian dominion. His policy was to dismiss the enemies garrisons wherever he came, with orders to repair to Athens ; thus to croud the city with a multitude of inhabitants, that it might be the more easily oppressed by famine, when the Spartans should besiege it. That time of distress came speedily. Agis and Pausanias (which last had succeeded his father Plistoanax) marched against it, and Lyfander with a fleet of above two hundred gallies appeared before the Pirean port : so that all the avenues being entirely blocked up, the city began soon to feel the want of provisions.

**NOTWITHSTANDING** these dreadful straits, the Athenians persisted in defending themselves to the last extremity, because the enemy refused to enter into any treaty, unless their walls were demolished.

**Bef. Christ**  
**404.**

At length, pressed by fore famine, they empowered Theramenes to go to Sparta, and endeavour at any price to save the wretched remains of the Athenian people. Accordingly peace was obtained on these conditions : ‘ that the long walls and fortifications of the Piræus should be levelled with the ground ; that all their ships, with the exception of twelve only, should be given up to Sparta ; that they should restore all the citizens they had banished ; and in all things should follow the Lacedemonian fortune.’ The Boeotians, the Corinthians,

Corinthians, and other confederates, gave their **BOOK** voices for the utter excision of Athens: the **VII.** Spartans alone opposed it, pretending they would **SECT. 2.** never consent to put out *one of the eyes* of Greece. It may rather be suspected, that in sparing a rival state they acted from the less generous motive of keeping up a balance against the Bœotians.

It is observed, that the day, on which the walls were demolished, was the anniversary of the victory at Salamis. And Plutarch tells us, that Lyfander commanded the walls to be rased, and the ships to be set on fire, to the sound of musical instruments, the Lacedemonians crowned with garlands dancing along. It will not be easy to reflect without indignation on the meanness, that could thus delight in adding weight to the misery of a ruined people, although that very people had brought destruction on themselves by corrupted manners and ambitious ill-digested counsels.





## B O O K VIII.

## SECTION I.

WE have seen the destitute condition of B O O K  
 Athens at the close of this unfortunate VIII.  
 war, her navies destroyed, her walls laid in ruins: Sect. I.  
 but far more dreadful was the desolation that Bef. Christ  
 followed. That wretched city was now left ex- 404  
 posed to the will of an unfeeling conqueror, who,  
 as if he had thought it a light matter to strip her  
 of all military defence, endeavoured to subdue the  
 very spirit of the people, and by tyrannical rule to  
 break them to sufferance and bondage. For this  
 purpose he compelled them to elect thirty of their  
 own citizens, who should have power to model  
 the commonwealth at their pleasure: they were to  
 appoint the senate, to name magistrates, to pre-  
 scribe laws. So that the democracy was totally  
 suppressed, and the state abandoned to the lust of  
 these arbitrary governors.

IN

BOOK In one respect only the arrangements of  
 VIII. Lyfander carried the appearance of fairnefs, that  
 Sect. 1. the persons to whom he trusted the reins of govern-  
 ment were all native Athenians. Yet was this no-  
 thing more than a specious fhew, which ferved to  
 render the fcurge the more fevere and galling. Ly-  
 fander knew well, that unlimited power makes ty-  
 rants; and that even thofe who appear moft zealous  
 for liberty and juft laws are apt to opprefs, when  
 defpotic fway is permitted to them. Befides,  
 thefe men had the indignation and hatred of thofe,  
 who had lately been their equals, to contend  
 with; which muft naturally have encreafed their  
 jealousy, and exasperated them the more to deeds  
 violent and mercilefs. It fhould be remarked  
 alfo, that by this artful contrivance the odium  
 was in fome meafure taken off from Sparta: it  
 was by the hands of Athenians, that Athens  
 fuffered; her own fons plunged the dagger into  
 the bofom of their expiring country.

THE thirty tyrants but too well answered the  
 expectations of the inhuman Lyfander, proceed-  
 ing to an excefs of cruelty hardly to be credited.  
 At firft their actions, though rigorous, had the  
 appearance at leaft of juftice, as none were con-  
 demned to die except fuch as were in fome way  
 criminal. But by degrees avarice and revenge  
 carried them to fuch lengths, that they found it  
 neceffary to have a garrifon from Sparta, to fup-  
 port them in their licentious meafures. As foon  
 as they had this addition of ftrength, they gave  
 the reins, without any limitation, to violence.  
 All the greateft and beft men of Athens, all thofe  
 whole characters could be a reproach, or fortunes  
 a temptation to them, were involved in the fame  
 fate: even not to applaud their conduct was a  
 treason worthy of death; and every day was  
 ftained with a frefh effufion of blood. At length,  
 some



some of the tyrants themselves thought it impo- B o o k  
 litic to go on thus ; and it was resolved to exempt VIII.  
 from general proscription three thousand citizens, Sect. 1.  
 whose lives should not be forfeited but by a legal  
 trial before the senate. The very exception shews  
 the atrocity of the government that had recourse  
 to it. As for all the other Athenians, they were  
 sacrificed promiscuously, without even the for-  
 mality of an accusation, and with a rage so unspar-  
 ing, that by the testimony of the orator Æschines,  
 the carnage extended to more than fifteen hundred  
 persons.

WHAT is most surprising, there were two of InCtesiph.  
 this junto, Critias and Theramenes, who had been 86.  
 disciples to Socrates, and numbered among his  
 friends ; and yet in cruelty Critias excelled all the  
 rest. Theramenes indeed was of a gentle disposi-  
 tion : his nature revolted against the outrageous  
 proceedings of his associates, insomuch that he  
 could not refrain from testifying his dislike by de-  
 clarations that proved fatal to him. Critias,  
 dreading the tendency of his speeches, charged  
 him before the senate as a mover of sedition : but  
 as he perceived in the senators a leaning towards  
 Theramenes, ‘ To put an end,’ said he, ‘ to all  
 ‘ debate concerning this matter, I take upon me  
 ‘ by my own authority to erase the name of  
 ‘ Theramenes out of the list of the three thousand,  
 ‘ and as a criminal whose cause is no longer  
 ‘ cognizable here, I sentence him to die ;’ with  
 the same breath commanding the foreign soldiers  
 to lay hands on him. Theramenes endeavoured  
 to escape, and made his way to an altar that was  
 near ; but the claims of religion were as little  
 respected as those of humanity ; he was torn  
 away thence, and forced to swallow the draught  
 of hemlock. An execution so dreadfully circum-  
 stanced

BOOK stanced terrified all Athens : her citizens saw no  
 VIII. resource but in the kindness of the neighbouring  
 Sect. I. states, to which they fled in great numbers, and  
 where they were received with a degree of kindness that did great honour to their protectors. Steady to their principles of severity, the Spartans had published an edict, requiring all persons to withhold assistance from the Athenian refugees, and under the penalty of five talents to deliver them up into the hands of the tyrants. But the feelings of human nature operated more forcibly than the dread of the Spartan power ; so that both at Thebes and Argos these unfortunate men found an asylum. The Thebans even went so far as to impose a mulct on such of their people as should refuse protection to the Athenian fugitives.

In the number of those who owed their safety to the compassion of Thebes was Thrasybulus, an Athenian distinguished by his birth, but much more so by his virtues. Not satisfied with securing his own life, unless he could effect the deliverance also of his afflicted country, he with thirty more ventured back into Attica, where he made himself master of Phylè, a strong castle near the Bœotian frontier. The tyrants, greatly alarmed at this enterprise to shake their power, offered him any terms, even to admit him to a share of the sovereignty in the room of Theramenes, if he would desist. But he generously protested, ‘ that no offers should ever bribe him  
 ‘ from the service of his country, which he would  
 ‘ either rescue from slavery, or perish in the  
 ‘ attempt.’ The spirit of the man drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a short time he found himself in a condition to march to the capital, and to seize on the Piræan port ; in consequence of which success, the tyrants thought proper to withdraw from Athens. Thus by the  
 virtue

virtue of one man was the city again restored to its B o o k  
 antient government and peace. VIII.

A MEASURE which this illustrious Athenian re- Sect. 1.  
 commended, immediately after the expulsion of  
 the tyrants, discovered as great a share of wisdom  
 as of zeal for the public good. The wounds of  
 Athens were yet bleeding fresh; scarcely was  
 there a family of distinction, that had not cause to  
 mourn the cruelties of the late government. At  
 the same time, all those who had been instrumental  
 to the support of despotism, had many gloomy  
 fears, and hated a revolution which they apprehended must prove fatal to them. Thrasybulus  
 saw this; and though his own wrongs called  
 loudly for revenge, yet preferring public before  
 private regards, he proposed a law for a general  
*amnesty*, a word then first brought into political  
 use, implying 'that all injuries sustained under  
 'the late oppression should be entirely forgotten.'  
 This happy expedient confirmed the public tran-  
 quillity, and caused amity and cordial affection to  
 succeed in the place of rancour and distrust.

It is not to be imagined however, that the  
 subversion of arbitrary power at Athens would  
 have been effected with so little trouble and blood-  
 shed, if Thrasybulus had not found, even among the  
 Spartans, those who secretly favoured his designs.  
 Pausanias, one of the kings of Sparta, had been  
 ordered into Attica to support the Thirty, but  
 shewed no haste to maintain an establishment  
 which he disliked, as the work of Lyfander, of  
 whose ambitious enterprising spirit he was not a  
 little jealous: for Lyfander, by new modelling  
 the government in most of the Grecian states,  
 and conferring the authority on whom he pleased,  
 had secured to himself a powerful following.



**BOOK** THE last act of mischief, perpetrated by these  
**VIII.** oppressors of Athens a little before their expulsion,  
**SECT. 1.** was the destroying of Alcibiades. Critias and his  
 colleagues dreaded that active genius, depressed  
 and exiled as he was, and prevailed with Pharnabazus to pursue him to death. The place he  
 had first chosen for his residence, after the defeat  
 of Antiochus, was a castle on the Thracian coast ;  
 but thinking himself no longer safe there when  
 Athens was taken, he shifted his station, well  
 assured that the Spartans would not spare him,  
 and retired into Bithynia, and thence into Phrygia,  
 to put himself under the protection of Pharnabazus,  
 by whom he was basely made a sacrifice  
 to the fears of the Thirty Tyrants. The emissaries  
 of the Persian satrap, it is said, not daring to  
 attack him openly, surrounded the house where  
 he slept, and set it on fire. Alcibiades wrapped  
 his robe about his left arm, and sword in hand  
 made his way through the flames into the midst  
 of his assassins, none of whom ventured to approach him.  
 Such were the fatal rewards the aspiring Alcibiades obtained to himself, he, whose  
 extraordinary endowments, if properly employed,  
 might have rendered him a blessing, as well as an ornament,  
 to his country.

**Def. Christ** SCARCELY were the Athenians recovered from  
 403. the miseries of the late war, when their own  
 superstitious phrensy brought on them a new calamity,  
 a calamity as much to be deplored, as any  
 that hostile rage had yet exposed them to—the  
 condemnation and death of the great Socrates.  
 Of this excellent man we have had occasion  
 already more than once to make mention : but  
 such was his whole character, so distinguished is  
 the place he holds in the Grecian annals, that we  
 should ill consult the improvement of the youthful  
 reader

reader particularly, if we gave not a more exact B o o k  
 portraiture of him. VIII.

HE was born of mean parentage, and Sect. 1.  
 laboured under all the difficulties of an indigent  
 fortune, having in his earlier years lost the little  
 patrimony that was left to him. His form was un-  
 couth, his voice coarse, his countenance harsh  
 and ill-favoured; so that he was not possessed of  
 any of the external advantages, which usually  
 bespeak regard and acceptance. But to balance  
 this, he had a mind fair and beautiful, great  
 strength of parts, an amazing quickness of appre-  
 hension; and withal, a winning attractive deport-  
 ment, and the most amiable manners. His  
 natural abilities he improved by the study of  
 philosophy, which he conducted in a manner  
 hitherto unpractised, having determined, as soon  
 as he was capable of making a choice, to renounce  
 all barren speculations, and to confine his attention  
 to truths moral and useful. In this view, he en-  
 deavoured not so much to search into the secrets  
 of nature, as to study virtue. He brought  
 Philosophy from her mysterious dark retreat into  
 the chearful ways of men: he taught her to mix  
 in the bustle of cities, to illuminate and beautify  
 domestic life. And this he did, not by professed  
 lectures, or meditated discourses. His whole  
 conversation, his whole behaviour was pregnant  
 with instruction. At his meals, in his walks, in  
 the streets and shops of Athens, in the assemblies  
 of the people, in the very camp, and amidst the  
 toils of war, he was always making wiser as many  
 as had the happiness of being near him, cor-  
 recting their faults, and informing their under-  
 standings. Had Alcibiades, had Critias, and many  
 other Athenians of those times, retained in me-  
 mory his admirable lessons, they had lived happy  
 and

BOOK and honoured. Alcibiades, we have told the  
 VIII. reader, seemed above all others to be his chosen  
 Sect. 1. care. The many noble qualifications, with which  
 nature had endowed this extraordinary personage,  
 made him dear to Socrates, who spared no pains  
 to restrain his vanity and ambition.

‘Do you know,’ would he say to him, ‘to  
 ‘what sum the revenues and expences of the  
 ‘commonwealth amount to annually? what ap-  
 ‘pointments are necessary for the maintenance of  
 ‘an army? by what means you may raise sup-  
 ‘plies?’ This was at the time when Alcibiades,  
 aspiring and unexperienced, was compassing in  
 his hopes the administration of public affairs, and  
 planning to himself what mighty things he would  
 do for Athens—he was to bid defiance to the  
 whole Persian empire, and to make Artaxerxes  
 tremble in his palace at Susa. When the young  
 Athenian was at a loss how to answer these signi-  
 ficant questions, ‘Then,’ would Socrates proceed,  
 ‘what will Amestris say, when she hears, that  
 ‘the man who meditates these mighty enterprises,  
 ‘and menaces ruin to her son, is a raw unfledged  
 ‘statesman, a stranger to both the political and  
 ‘military arts, who has neither interest at home,  
 ‘nor weight abroad? How contemptuous will  
 ‘she smile, when she hears this, and scoff at the  
 ‘vain presumer!’ On another occasion, perceiv-  
 ing him much elated with the contemplation of  
 his riches and large estate, he shewed him a map  
 of the world, and desired him to find out Attica  
 in it; it was contracted into a little speck: he  
 then bade him point out his own estate; but when  
 that could not be done, ‘How mean is it  
 ‘then,’ observed Socrates, ‘to prize yourself on  
 ‘that which is so inconsiderable, that its place is  
 ‘not here to be found!’



IN this manner did he cultivate the minds of B o o k  
the youth of Athens : the dissolute he formed to VIII.  
sobriety and temperance, the froward to modesty Sect. 1.  
and submission, the impious to a reverence of religion and to a life of purity. ‘ The best way of  
‘ worshipping the Deity,’ would he say, ‘ is to  
‘ live as he commands.’ He taught his hearers to  
turn their steps from the flowery paths of pleasure,  
to look down with indifference on splendor and  
wealth, to inure themselves to difficulties, and to  
meet the approach of danger under whatsoever  
form with steady intrepidity ; for that ‘ nothing  
‘ was *an ill*, but *to do ill*, nor any thing honoura-  
‘ ble and glorious, but what was virtuous and  
‘ good.’

NEITHER were these lessons the dictates of supercilious pride and ostentation : they were the faithful transcript of his own practice. No man lived more abstemiously. He despised the opportunity of amassing riches. He was meek, humble, patient under the severest trials, of unblemished integrity, and strict continence. And yet the disposition he received from nature would have led him astray : he owned himself, that it had cost him much struggle to conquer the importuning solicitations of his passions. This severity which he observed towards himself did not render him austere and gloomy : he conversed freely with his fellow citizens, he was present at their entertainments, he was the life of their feasts : ever pleasant and gay, he contrived to make the wholesomest instruction palatable by the pungency of wit and a plentiful interspersion of harmless jests. Serenity and cheerfulness diffused themselves wherever he appeared ; he was the admiration of the old, and the joy of the young ; the men of business

BOOK business crowded around him, and the proudest  
VIII. statesman listened to him with rapture.

Sect. I. SUCH as he was in private life, such he was also in the discharge of all public duties; the same his integrity, the same his freedom of spirit. Thrice he served his country in her wars abroad, at Potidæa, at Delium, at Amphipolis: in every one of those expeditions he was an example to the whole army, by his intrepid courage and patient abiding of all hardships. At Potidæa particularly, he had a noble opportunity of distinguishing himself. The Athenians were obliged to remain at the siege during the winter, which in Thrace is remarkably severe. Nevertheless, Socrates went clad in his usual manner: not even the meanest soldier could endure the inclemency of the weather equally with him. He would stand, contemplating, on the frozen ground: he walked bare-foot through heaps of snow, at the very time that the army, though under their tents, and wrapt in warm furs, were scarce able to bear the rigour of the season. At this siege, he had the good fortune to save the life of his beloved Alcibiades; when he was wounded, and in imminent danger from the enemy, Socrates slept before him, and brought him off safely. The judges appointed to decide what soldier had fought the best, would on this occasion have conferred the palm on Socrates, which he declined, and by earnest suit procured it for Alcibiades. When the plague ravaged Athens, he alone, of all those in the city, never felt sickness: he walked abroad amidst the rage of the devouring pestilence, free from apprehension, free from harm; assisting, relieving his disconsolate fellow citizens.

BUT the most glorious part of his character was the manner in which he acquitted himself in the  
public

public assemblies and councils of the state : there B o o k  
 he never was known to give either advice or suf- VIII.  
 frage but from a sound judgment and an uncor- Sect. 1.  
 rupted heart, unmoved by danger, unbiaſſed by  
 affection. He ſtrenuouſly ſpoke againſt the fatal  
 expedition to Sicily, though the darling project  
 of his own Alcibiades. He alone oppoſed the vio-  
 lence of the people, when they unjuſtly condemn-  
 ed to death the ſix admirals who had deſerved ſo  
 well at Arginufæ. Soon after, it was his fate to  
 ſee his country in the hands of her enemies, and  
 groaning under the yoke of bondage : and yet  
 even then, he alone ſeemed to enjoy his antient  
 liberty. He boldly charged the tyrants with their  
 murders and oppreſſions ; he ſtood againſt them,  
 and avowedly diſobeyed their commands, ‘ be-  
 ‘ cauſe,’ he told them, ‘ they were wicked and  
 ‘ arbitrary.’ When Theramenes was dragged to  
 execution, he attempted to reſcue him, at the ha-  
 zard of his own life. For a pretence to rid them-  
 ſelves of him, the tyrants commanded him to go  
 and apprehend an innocent man. He reſuſed  
 peremptorily. ‘ And what,’ ſaid one of them,  
 ‘ doſt thou think, Socrates, to ſpeak thus, and  
 ‘ not to ſuffer ?—‘ To ſuffer ! yes,’ replied he,  
 ‘ a thouſand evils ; but none ſo great, as the evil  
 ‘ of acting unjuſtly.’ They would have reſtrained  
 him from offering inſtruction to the young people  
 and the artiſans of Athens, from a reaſonable ſuſ-  
 picion, that by his uſual diſcourſes of piety, of  
 juſtice, and the public good, the whole common-  
 alty would be ſpirited up to rebel againſt them :  
 but it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſtrain him, with-  
 out confining him entirely ; for wherever he ſhew-  
 ed himſelf, whatever topic he treated of, he in-  
 ſtructed. At length, as he had conſtantly reſiſt-  
 ed, ſo he had alſo a conſiderable ſhare in the ſub-



**B o o k** version of this government ; for it is generally be-  
**VIII.** lieved, that the designs of Thrasylbulus and his  
**Sect. 1.** friends were communicated to Socrates, and car-  
 ried on with his approbation. It is also extremely  
 probable, that the act of oblivion, which so hap-  
 pily re-established the peace of Athens, was,  
 partly at least, of his devising ; for never was  
 man more averse from violent proceedings, never  
 was man more sincerely zealous to advance the  
 public prosperity.

SOCRATES was superior to all the wisest men of  
 Greece, not only in the excellence of his philoso-  
 phy and the dignity of his manners, but also in  
 the justness of his conceptions concerning the di-  
 vine nature. He considered the received ac-  
 counts of the pagan deities in the light of absurd  
 legends, the offspring of the licentious fancy of  
 poets, and consecrated by sacerdotal dishonesty,  
 and the ignorance of a superstitious vulgar. His  
 religion was far different. He believed a God,  
 ‘ one, supreme, arbiter of events, spiritual, im-  
 ‘ mense, eternal, sole origin of being and happi-  
 ‘ ness to all, possessing in himself whatsoever is  
 ‘ lovely, great, and good. Neither pride, nor  
 ‘ envy, nor cruelty, nor lust,’ said our philoso-  
 pher, ‘ find a place before Him ; but wisdom,  
 ‘ holiness, justice, mercy, and truth, are the per-  
 ‘ petual attendants of his throne. These are the  
 ‘ glorious attributes he delights in, and by the  
 ‘ imitation of these only his approbation is to be  
 ‘ purchased. In the sight of that Being not the  
 ‘ richest oblations, the most costly victims, not  
 ‘ pompous rites, nor mysterious solemnities, shall  
 ‘ render our prayers valuable, but only the hum-  
 ‘ ble offering of a mind upright and innocent.  
 ‘ On those who approach him thus, he pours  
 ‘ down his benign influence : they are blessed  
 ‘ with

‘ with his protection ; even after death they are B o o k  
 ‘ happy ; the painful journey of life ended, they VIII.  
 ‘ return to that sacred fountain of joy, to partake Sect. 1.  
 ‘ of unchangeable felicity.’

CONCEPTIONS so exalted, so discordant to what the priest taught and the multitude believed, could not fail of raising him many enemies : and although he uttered his thoughts on several of these articles sparingly and with seeming diffidence, yet was it well known, that the opinions he entertained were extremely dangerous to the interests of polytheism. Another class of men also bore an inveterate hatred to him. The Sophists, when he first began to teach, were in possession of the schools of Athens. They appear to have been a set of mercenary sciologists, employed in useless researches, and masters of nothing more than a vain pedantry. Yet by the help of a voluble elocution, and sounding far-fought expressions, were they held in admiration. Their profession was, to speak on all subjects, to confute all arguments, to solve all questions : they never were at a loss for words, and if they could not convince, they were sure to puzzle. This kind of men had done very serious mischief to the Athenian youth ; they had corrupted their minds as well as their taste, and in the stead of modesty and good sense, had inspired them with confidence and petulancy. It was the endeavour of the excellent Socrates to silence these false pretenders, and the test which he put to them was a trying one. His practice was, to approach them with great shew of respect, when, as if for the sake of instruction, he would propose to them some plain question,—‘ What  
 ‘ virtue was ? what piety consisted in ? which  
 ‘ were the most effectual means of pleasing  
 ‘ the gods ?’ and the like : To these he required  
 plain

BOOK plain precise answers, which drew on a train of  
 VIII. new questions, till the pressed sophist, beaten out of  
 Sect. 1. all his entrenchments, and self-confuted, remained speechless, the object of derision and contempt. This method of reasoning, called from him the *Socratic method*, was of singular use: it defeated all shrewd distinctions, together with the whole host of sophistical evasions; knowledge was clearly conveyed, and truth placed by it in the most striking light.

If to all these enemies of Socrates we add such as he had irritated by his freedom of reproof (for he regarded no danger, he spared no vice) we shall be able to judge, to what a formidable number the hostile battallion amounted. But how to attack such a person, was the difficulty. To charge him with immorality, would carry its own refutation with it. It was therefore contrived to make the people laugh at his exalted character: 'they would reverence less, what they had been taught to ridicule.' Aristophanes, the greatest comic writer of his age, was prevailed on to prostitute his wit to a purpose so unworthy. Accordingly, Socrates was produced on the stage in the most ludicrous point of view the poet's art could place him in. It is true, the plot did not succeed completely, Socrates himself having taken off much of the keenness of the satire, by appearing in the theatre at the very time, and joining in the jest with his usual pleasantness: but it is certain also, that such impressions did it leave on the minds of many, as in the end proved fatal to this excellent man. This happened about twenty years before his death; and probably the troubles that intervened left it not in the power of his ill-wishers to attend to their resentments.

WITH



WITH the return of public peace the desire of humbling Socrates returned. A formal indictment was preferred against him by Anytus, a sophist, and Melitus; the one a principal agent in the original prosecution, the other a young man now first persuaded to join his enemies. He was accused 'of introducing new gods, and not believing the deities which the state believed;' and also 'of corrupting the Athenian youth.' This last was a suggestion altogether unfounded; for on his trial his adversaries could only say, 'that he had erected himself into a friend and counsellor to the younger part of the community; that he had stolen away their affections; that they followed, respected, obeyed him, with too much devotion and reverence.' The former part of the impeachment had better grounds; for certainly far different was the religion of Socrates from the idolatrous creed of the Athenian people.

THE philosopher saw the tempest gathering against him, calm and unmoved. He made no preparation for his defence, but employed the whole interval of time between his accusation and his trial in his ordinary course of public instruction; an indifference, which occasioned great uneasiness to his friends. Hermogenes particularly remonstrated to him, that his blameless life and simplicity of manners would avail but little before judges capable of being led away by artful representations. 'Why, to own the truth to you,' returned Socrates, 'I have a monitor within' (his dæmon he called it) 'that withholds me from preparing any apology.' Hermogenes expressing wonder at this, 'What,' continued Socrates, 'is it strange, that God should think it fit for me to die at this time? Hitherto have I lived up-  
' rightly, my source of joy at all times, and now  
' my

BOOK ' my greatest comfort. If I continue here, I  
 VIII. ' know I must undergo what is proper to old age,  
 SECT. I. ' defect of hearing and sight, slowness to apprehend, aptness to forget. How can I then be  
 ' pleased to live longer, and grow worse? It is  
 ' likely, God in his love to me has ordained,  
 ' that I should die in the most convenient age,  
 ' and by the gentlest means. Were I to defeat  
 ' the attempts of my enemies, I should only stay  
 ' longer to be at last taken away by the activity  
 ' of disease and the imperfections of age \*, which  
 ' truly, Hermogenes, I desire not. And if,  
 ' when I give an account of my actions, the  
 ' judges shall think fit to condemn me, it will be  
 ' my choice to die, rather than to beg of them a  
 ' life more irksome than death.'

IN like manner did he resist the importunities of all his disciples and friends; for never was man more dearly beloved, than was Socrates by those who had the happiness of a daily intercourse with him. Lysias, an eminent orator, even composed for him an oration, of which he besought him to make use. ' No,' said Socrates, ' it is a  
 ' good one, but not fit for me.'—' Good, and  
 ' not fit for you! how can that be?' asked Lysias. ' Why,' answered the philosopher, ' may  
 ' not a garment be too gay, and therefore not fit  
 ' for me? Were shoes to be brought me of rich  
 ' stuff and delicately made, I would refuse to  
 ' wear them, though I had nothing to object to  
 ' their size.' In the opinion of this excellent judge, the speech in question had more of elegance than of ingenuity and manliness.

THE day of trial being come at length, the charge was enforced against him by his two prosecutors, supported by a certain orator named Lycon; after which Socrates rose up to make reply, and though unpremeditated, his defence was

\* He was then upwards of 70 years old.

was uttered with remarkable firmness of voice and B o o k  
 countenance. What his method of life had been, VIII.  
 he appealed to the judgement of all Athens; Sect. 1.  
 what his deportment, what his manners; whether  
 he had not preferred an honest poverty to all the  
 advantages of wealth; whether he had ever  
 been wanting to the service he owed his country,  
 in times of pressing difficulty. ‘As to the young  
 ‘people of Athens, who,’ continued he, ‘can  
 ‘say that I have corrupted them? Can you,  
 ‘Melitus, name one, whom I have rendered im-  
 ‘pious, shameless, prodigal, debauched, or effe-  
 ‘minate? They observe me, it is true, and pay  
 ‘me filial reverence. But my concern, my  
 ‘watchfulness for their welfare, my care of their  
 ‘instruction, the opinion they have of my ability  
 ‘and wish to serve them, these are the causes that  
 ‘have wrought the effect you complain of, the  
 ‘endearments that have made me a father to  
 ‘them. And is it fit that I should suffer death for  
 ‘this? Have I deserved capital punishment for  
 ‘procuring good citizens to the commonwealth;  
 ‘for having contributed so largely to the advance-  
 ‘ment of the public happiness?’

WITH respect to the principal point indeed, the  
 charge of infidelity, much it were to be wished  
 that he had not here acted beneath himself, by  
 endeavouring to throw off the imputation of not  
 believing the gods of his country. ‘He had  
 ‘assisted,’ he said, ‘at the solemn festivals: he  
 ‘had sacrificed at the public altars.’ How much  
 more glorious, had he, in this important instance,  
 resolutely confessed his principles, and bore avow-  
 ed witness against the worship of the pagan  
 divinities? Whatever was the reason, whether  
 his mind was not fully enlightened, or whether,  
 according to some, he thought a respect to be due  
 to



BOOK to the established rites and national worship, certain it is, that he chose to dissemble his sentiments, and leave the religion of his country unimpeached.

THE judges, notwithstanding, were much offended with Socrates' defence. Unexceptionable as the matter was, it was delivered in so assured a manner, without either dejected look or supplicating voice, rather as demanding justice than suing for favour, that two hundred and eighty one persons gave their suffrages for his condemnation. It was the custom among the Athenians, when the accused was cast, if the fault was not capital, to impose a pecuniary mulct; previously to which, they asked the prisoner, at what rate he himself estimated his offence. The judges therefore put the question to Socrates. Disdaining all mean concessions, 'I sentence myself,' he resolutely answered, 'in return for what I have done, to be honoured during the remainder of my life with a public maintenance in the Prytaneum.' This bold assertion of his innocence increased the indignation of the judges to that degree, that, eighty more joining in the condemnation, they adjudged him to death. In vain did his disciples interpose in his behalf: Plato would have spoken; but they were all silenced. Prepossession and mad rage held the sway: and to the eternal disgrace of Athens, was the wisest and best of her citizens laden with fetters, and condemned to die by the draught of hemlock.

SOCRATES received the sentence with his usual composure. 'What should deject me now,' said he, 'more than before I was condemned, since I am not more guilty? That I die thus, troubleth me not: it is not opprobrious to me, but to those who have condemned me. I know well how

‘ how future times will account of this matter, for B o o k  
 ‘ never did I hurt or injure any ; on the contrary, VIII.  
 ‘ it has been my delight to benefit all that have Sect. 1.  
 ‘ conversed with me, to the utmost of my abilities.’  
 From the place of judgment he was conducted to  
 prison, ‘ which ceased from that time,’ says a  
 noble Roman, ‘ to be the dwelling of reproach ;’  
 it became the abode of peace, of justice, of  
 virtue.

THE evening before his condemnation, it so  
 chanced, that the priest of Apollo crowned the  
 sacred vessel that was to sail to Delos. This  
 solemnity, we have already said, was annually  
 observed in discharge of a vow Theseus made  
 when he was sent to Crete ; and the custom was,  
 that the city should be lustrated, as a preparation  
 for the ship’s departure, and that, until it return-  
 ed, no criminal should be put to death. The  
 course of the winds, on the present occasion, de-  
 layed the return of the vessel to thirty days ; dur-  
 ing which interval his friends employed all their  
 efforts to save him. Some offered to carry him  
 off by force, which he not only refused, but  
 derided, asking them, ‘ if they knew any place  
 ‘ out of Attica, where death could not enter ?’  
 Crito, an Athenian of wealth and consequence,  
 had even by frequent visits and large presents  
 gained an interest with the jailor ; so that two  
 days before the death of his friend, he conceived  
 himself in a capacity to effect an escape for him,  
 in which view he made a visit. On coming in,  
 he found Socrates asleep ; whereupon he sat down  
 by his side, rapt in silent wonder at the soundness  
 with which he slept, and the calm that overspread  
 his countenance. When he awoke, Crito ear-  
 nestly urged the matter to him. He besought  
 him, in the name of his *country*, which must be  
 3 disgraced

B o o k disgraced for ever, should he suffer by the unjust  
 VIII. angry sentence she had pronounced—in the name  
 Sect. 1. of his *friends*, to whom posterity would impute  
 it, as if they had neglected his preservation—in  
 the name of his *children*, who were now to be  
 deprived of the instruction and guidance of the  
 tenderest and best of parents—to hasten away,  
 and provide for his safety. All things, he told  
 him, were in readiness, and the business required  
 dispatch, for that the sacred galley was at Sunium,  
 and would be at Athens the following day.

‘ THE kindness you intended me,’ answered  
 Socrates, ‘ deserves my warmest acknowledg-  
 ‘ ments, and fully do I feel the strength of every  
 ‘ motive you have urged to me. But am I at  
 ‘ liberty to yield to the impression? Do not I  
 ‘ owe obedience to the laws of my country? have  
 ‘ I not lived all my days under their protection?  
 ‘ have I not subjected myself to their decision?  
 ‘ and therefore, though condemned unjustly, am  
 ‘ I not bound to submit to what they have deter-  
 ‘ mined? Methinks, the Laws are even now  
 ‘ before me, invested with forms, and upbraiding  
 ‘ me audibly: Tell us, Socrates, what purpose  
 ‘ you to do? Know you not, that by this at-  
 ‘ tempt of yours you are destroying, as far as in  
 ‘ you lieth, both us and the commonwealth?  
 ‘ Can a state subsist, when the laws are without  
 ‘ force, despised and trodden under foot by private  
 ‘ persons? You have been injured by men, not  
 ‘ by the laws; and if you retort the injustice by  
 ‘ breaking the compact you have made with us,  
 ‘ you injure the whole body of the Athenian  
 ‘ people, you undermine the public security.  
 ‘ Nor shall your escape avail you. Wherever you  
 ‘ are, we will follow and reproach you; and even  
 ‘ after this life, shall our sisters, the Laws of the  
 ‘ invisible



‘ invisible world, call you to a severe account **BOOK**  
 ‘ for the contempt you have wantonly brought **VIII.**  
 ‘ on us.’ This lively apologue silenced Crito. **SECT. I.**  
 Admiration and tears were all the reply he had  
 to make.

As Crito had conjectured, the galley returned. And the ensuing morning, all the friends of Socrates that were in Athens (Plato excepted, who was sick) repaired to the prison. They came early, that they might be the longer with him; whence they were detained some time at the door, because the Eleven were with Socrates, to notify to him that he was to die that day, and to take off his fetters, agreeably to the humane practice of Athens, where it was esteemed impious, on the day of his execution, to hold in bonds a person, who was then accounted the victim and property of Death. That ominous ceremony performed, his friends were admitted, and found in company with the prisoner his wife Xanthippe, who with a flood of tears, exclaimed, ‘ O Socrates, this is the last time thou shalt behold thy friends, or thy friends shall behold thee!’ ‘ Crito,’ said Socrates, ‘ let her be conducted home.’ Accordingly, some of Crito’s people led her away.

SOCRATES, being now alone with his friends, began to converse with his wonted tranquillity, adapting his discourse to his present situation, and endeavouring to render every hour that remained to him, instructive and exemplary. ‘ How unaccountable,’ said he, rubbing his leg where the chain had lately galled him, ‘ is the feeling they call *pleasure*! how nearly connected with *pain*, to which it appears so contrary! for whoever enjoys the one, must unavoidably receive the other, as if nature had linked them together,  
 ‘ I believe,

BOOK ' I believe, had Æsop thought on the subject, he  
 VIII. ' would have devised some such fable as this:  
 SECT. 1. ' *that God, designing to reconcile these two anta-*  
 ' *gonists, and finding it impossible, had joined them*  
 ' *by their summits, so that to whomsoever the one*  
 ' *cometh, the other immediately succeeds.* This I at  
 ' the present moment experience; the pain,  
 ' which my chains occasioned, being now followed  
 ' by a pleasurable sensation.'

AFTER answering some questions which his friends put to him, ' This day,' continued he, ' I  
 ' am to go hence: so have the Athenians ordered  
 ' it; and far from pursuing me with lamenta-  
 ' tions, there is not one of you that must not  
 ' esteem such a departure extremely advantageous  
 ' and desirable.' Some of his disciples seeming  
 to gather from this, that a wise man should court  
 death, ' To every one,' observed the excellent  
 Socrates, ' has the Deity assigned his post here,  
 ' which to desert without his permission were  
 ' highly impious. Should not you be displeased,  
 ' if your slave were to kill himself, and so de-  
 ' prive you of your property? and would you  
 ' not, if in your power, punish him? We are  
 ' the property of God, acting here by his appoint-  
 ' ment, and under his superintendency; and  
 ' therefore, in whatever station he has thought fit  
 ' to place us, in it we are to abide, till he is  
 ' pleased to send us a summons, such as he now  
 ' sends to me.' Here he was interrupted by Cebes  
 the Theban, the author of that beautiful mytho-  
 logical picture of human life, which has come  
 down to our times: ' If, Socrates, we are the  
 ' property of the Supreme Being, and acting  
 ' under his superintendency, why should you be  
 ' desirous to remove from under that superin-  
 ' tendence, and to cease to be his property? No  
 ' man

‘ man surely can think to better his condition by B o o k  
 ‘ withdrawing from such a government.’ ‘ O VIII.  
 ‘ Cebes,’ the philosopher replied, ‘ did I believe, Sect. I.  
 ‘ that by departing hence I should cease to be the  
 ‘ property of the great Parent of the universe ;  
 ‘ were I not persuaded, that even after the disso-  
 ‘ lution of this corporal part, something of man  
 ‘ still remaineth, and that, when I leave you, I  
 ‘ shall go to a just judge, and to a society of men  
 ‘ far better than any on the earth, I were inex-  
 ‘ cusable for contemning death. But know ye,  
 ‘ my friends, it is my hope, that I shall be per-  
 ‘ mitted to see and consort with the just and up-  
 ‘ right of former ages. And however that may  
 ‘ be, yet of this at least I am assured, that I  
 ‘ shall return to the justest and best of governors,  
 ‘ and that this change, though fatal to the wicked,  
 ‘ shall be found happy and glorious to the good.  
 ‘ For there are two roads, and a twofold desig-  
 ‘ nation to souls, after their departure hence.’  
 ‘ Those which have fallen from their uprightness,  
 ‘ and have polluted themselves with vice, are  
 ‘ sent by a dreary solitary way, secluded from the  
 ‘ assembly of the gods. But the souls that have  
 ‘ preserved themselves entire from the contagion  
 ‘ of the body, imitating here below the lives  
 ‘ of the immortals above, have an open way  
 ‘ prepared for them, by which they shall  
 ‘ return again to the supreme source of wisdom  
 ‘ and happiness.’

AT the close of this discourse concerning the  
 immortality of the soul, Crito asked him, what  
 directions he would give as to his children, and  
 whether he had any thing to enjoin his friends.  
 ‘ I leave you no injunction,’ said he, ‘ but what  
 ‘ I have often laid upon you—that ye should look  
 ‘ well to yourselves. In that case, whatever ye

‘ do,



BOOK 'do, it will be acceptable to them that belong to  
 VIII. 'me: but if ye neglect yourselves and virtue, ye  
 SECT. I. 'can do no acceptable service to us, though ye  
 'should promise ever so largely.' — 'But how will  
 'you be buried?' continued Crito. 'As you  
 'think good,' replied he, 'provided you can  
 'manage not to let me slip away from you.'  
 Then turning to Phædon and the rest, he observed with a smile, 'I cannot persuade Crito, that I  
 'who now speak to you am any thing more than  
 'the corpse which he will presently behold; and  
 'therefore he asks, how I will be buried. It  
 'seems, what I even now told him, that from  
 'hence I shall go to the joys of the blessed, has  
 'not yet obtained credit with him. But let it  
 'not be said, that *Socrates* is carried to the grave;  
 'for such a mistake, my dear Crito, were a  
 'wrong to my soul. Be not therefore dejected:  
 'tell the world, my body only is buried; and  
 'that—after what manner you please.' He now  
 retired into an inner room to bathe, that his body  
 might not need any cleansing when he should be  
 dead; and having bathed, he commanded his  
 wife and children to be again brought in, dis-  
 coursed with them some time, and took his last  
 leave of them: after which, he returned to the  
 philosophers.

TOWARDS sunset, the servant of the Eleven  
 came to acquaint him, 'that it was the hour for  
 'drinking the hemlock.' From the nature of his  
 office, the business of executions was familiar to  
 him; and yet so deeply was he affected by what he  
 had seen of the deportment and meek carriage of  
*Socrates* during his confinement, that he was all  
 in tears when he delivered his message. 'How  
 'humane is this man!' remarked the philoso-  
 pher: 'I have found him the same all the time of  
 'my imprisonment. He often would visit me,  
 'discourse

‘ discourse me, and always used me courteously : B o o k  
 ‘ and now see how kindly he sheds tears for me.’ VIII.

WHEN the hemlock was sufficiently brewed, Sect. 1.  
 Socrates took the bowl, not only without the least  
 discomposure, but even with cheerfulness, and  
 looking on the executioner demanded, if it were  
 not lawful to make a libation with part of it.  
 The man answered, that he had only prepared  
 enough for one potion : ‘ Yet,’ said the sage,  
 ‘ it is lawful, and it is my duty, to pray to the  
 ‘ gods ; and with all my soul do I beseech them,  
 ‘ that my passage hence may be happy.’ Thus  
 saying, he drank off the hemlock.

As soon as his disciples saw that he had finished  
 the deadly draught, they could no longer refrain,  
 but gave a loose to immoderate grief, some of  
 them roaring out aloud. ‘ For shame, my  
 ‘ friends,’ said he ; ‘ to prevent this, I sent away  
 ‘ the women. I have heard, that we ought to  
 ‘ die with joy and gratulation. Compose your-  
 ‘ selves therefore, and bear this as becometh you.’  
 This reproof forced them to suppress their tears.  
 Having walked about a little, as the executioner  
 had directed, and feeling his legs stiffen, he laid  
 him down on the bed, and covering his face with  
 his gown, remained for some time in silent medi-  
 tation ; but shortly after, raising himself, ‘ O  
 ‘ Crito,’ said he, ‘ we owe a cock to Esculapius,  
 ‘ pay it, neglect it not.’ These were his last  
 words, and in some few minutes after, he ex-  
 pired.

THUS died, saith Plato, the best, the wisest, Bef. Christ  
 the most just of mankind ; and safely may we add, 399.  
 the greatest of the pagan world ; a man far sur-  
 passing all that were called wise among the hea-  
 then in the times before him, and whom none of  
 those that followed ever equalled, even with the  
 advantage

B o o k advantage of that body of light which he discovered and transmitted to them. In him it should seem that providence meant to shew, what the mere strength of man's reason could avail towards rescuing human nature from its depraved condition, and restoring the dominion of truth and virtue. For he too had his doubts, and those with respect to several material points: he himself confessed as much; he wished for some better information, and spoke earnestly, and in a kind of prophetic view, of some person to be sent from heaven to instruct and guide mankind in the ways of truth. And certainly if these obscurities and wants were felt and acknowledged by that acute, candid, sedulous enquirer, by the owner of such an understanding and such a heart; if in Greece, in the midst of Athens, a Socrates stood in need of further illumination; it cannot be deemed partiality to the true religion to affirm, that it has rescued from a miserable estate the simpler and more numerous part of the human race.

Plat.  
Alcib. 2.

A Loss so important to the community was presently followed by a proportionable share of regret. All the wise and good of Athens were the first to lament the removal of this luminary. Plato was inconsolable. Isocrates and the rest of the philosophers put on the deepest mourning. The whole company of his disciples, soon as they had paid the last duties to their beloved master, retired to Megara, partly to avoid the place where they had seen him die, and partly to provide for their own security, whilst calumny and bloody persecution thus prevailed at Athens. Their flight was the first event, that led the Athenians to reflect on their late frenzy. Many things contributed to hasten their repentance. The lonely silence,



silence, that seemed to have taken possession of B o o k  
 all the public places, where the instructive voice VIII.  
 of Socrates was wont to be heard; the universal Sect. 1.  
 indignation of Greece at his unmerited fate; the  
 behaviour of several externs, who came from dif-  
 ferent cities to hear him, and learning that he  
 had suffered by the hands of his own citizens,  
 would not so much as enter into Athens, but  
 with passionate lamentations repaired to his sepul-  
 chre without the walls, and affectionately kissed  
 the very dust that covered his remains: all these  
 circumstances concurring awakened the people of  
 Athens to a sense of their injustice, and turned  
 their rage against his prosecutors. Melitus was  
 put to death, without the formality of a trial.  
 Anytus was banished, and fleeing to Heraclea,  
 was stoned there. And for the rest who had been  
 concerned in the wicked prosecution, in such de-  
 testation were they held at Athens, that the citi-  
 zens would not permit them to kindle fire at their  
 houses, or wash in the same water, or exchange a  
 question with them; so that most of these unhap-  
 py wretches laid violent hands on themselves.  
 His disciples also were invited back, and restored  
 to their former liberty of meeting. All sports and  
 public spectacles were interdicted for a time: and  
 such an excessive sorrow appeared among all ranks  
 of men, that the magistrates thought it necessary  
 to restrain it by an order, that the name of So-  
 crates should not be mentioned in the theatre, or  
 in any place of public concourse.

ONE circumstance in the life of this eminent  
 person may appear somewhat difficult to be ac-  
 counted for. He was known without question to  
 be an enemy to polytheism, and of course, to the  
 interests of the Delphic god, or at least of his  
 priests and prophets. Whence then came it to

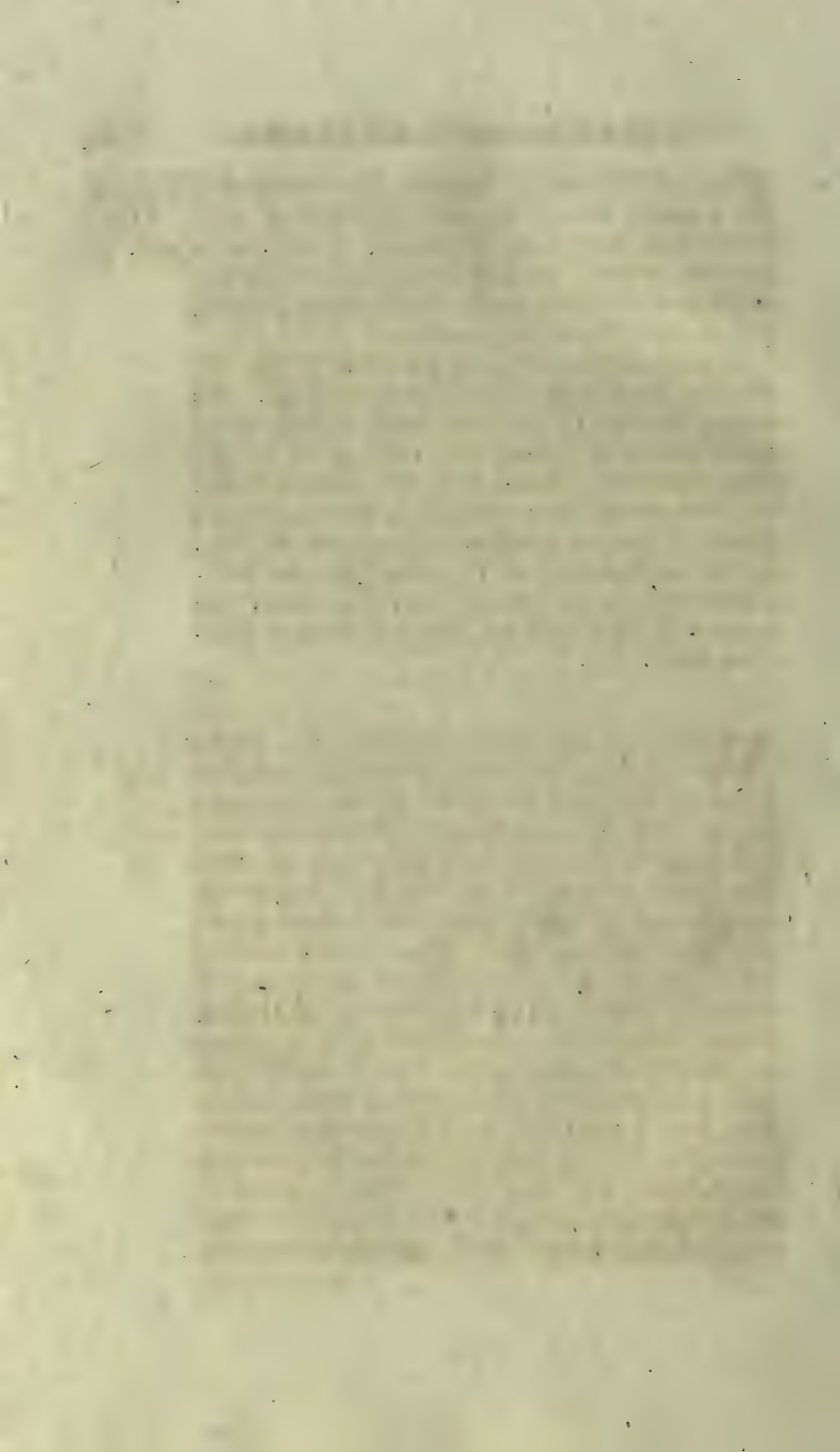
BOOK pass, that by the voice of the Pythian oracle this  
 VIII. same dangerous adversary was pronounced to be  
 Sect. 1. *the wisest of men?* The difficulty will probably  
 find its true solution, if we suppose, that this extraordinary encomium on Socrates was dictated by the policy of the Delphic councils. They were desirous of fixing among their votaries a man of his exalted character; and as none of the usual inducements could take effect on *him*, who was neither haunted with guilty fears, nor susceptible of a weak credulity, who neither courted office, nor was to be tempted by wealth; flattery, it was hoped, and the honour of the suffrage of the god, would gain him over. They failed: and perhaps the intrigues of this powerful priesthood had no little share in his condemnation.

SOCRATES committed not his doctrine to writing, content, through the whole of his useful career, with teaching by lively discourse and active virtue. The accounts we have of him are principally from Xenophon and Plato, two of his disciples, whose worth and undisputed eminence in the ranks of literature are a proof, how great was the man, by whom they had been instructed, and of whom they speak with such reverence and admiration. Many other disciples indeed he had, and various were the philosophic sects, formed, as they professed, on the plan he had laid down; but most of them departed from the simplicity and integrity of their master, and in the place of his genuine amiableness of character, and natural method of investigating truth, substituted a technical language and affected manners: so that whoever would know him well, must study him in the works of the two excellent writers above mentioned—Plato, the father of the Academic school, whose happy genius, assisted and sublimed by the lessons

lessons of the divine Socrates, has obtained to him a name, one of the most illustrious of antiquity—and Xenophon, in whom, it may be a question, whether the sage discerning philosopher, the elegant historian, or the cool intrepid general, is most deserving of our praise. Book VIII. Sect. 1.

XENOPHON was not an eye witness of the last affecting scene of his beloved preceptor's life. He was, at the time of Socrates' death, a commander in the armies of Sparta, and engaged in an exploit, one of the boldest and best conducted that was ever carried into execution, the memorable retreat of the ten thousand Greeks out of Asia. As the consequences of this event on the subsequent fortunes of Greece were important, the reader will think with us, that it deserves a particular detail.





## B O O K V I I I .

## S E C T I O N II.

WE have mentioned already, that Darius B O O K  
 Nothus, after having trusted, at the in- V I I I .  
 stance of his queen Parysatis, his son, the young S e c t . 2 .  
 Cyrus, with the government of Asia the Less, B e f . C h r i s t  
 had found it necessary in a short time to order 404 .  
 him back to Susa. The young prince was  
 haughty and assuming, not to be contented with  
 any share of sovereignty, short of absolute; of  
 which temper he gave evidence by putting to  
 death two princes of the royal blood, nephews to  
 Darius, for no other crime but that of neglecting  
 to cover their hands before him, a mark of re-  
 spect appropriated by the custom of Persia to the  
 King alone. However, the fond Parysatis pleaded  
 so forcibly in his behalf, that Darius forgave him.  
 Shortly after, the king died. And, pursuant to  
 his designation, his eldest son Artaxerxes Mne-  
 mon (the *Rememberer*, as he was called from his  
 extraordinary

BOOK extraordinary memory) ascended the throne of VIII. Persia.

Sect. 2. THE right of primogeniture appeared to Cyrus no just foundation for the preference thus given to his brother: he had been taught to expect the regal diadem from the interest of his mother, and the impotence of disappointed ambition prompted him to make an attempt on the life of Artaxerxes. Nevertheless, the intercession of Parysatis saved him again. Artaxerxes not only forgave him, but was even weak enough to continue him in the government of the Asiatic provinces.

CYRUS had now, besides the spur of his ambition, the galling remembrance of being indebted to the mercy of a hated rival; so that he carried to Sardis a firm purpose of revenge. In this view, he invited several Grecian officers to his court; he fixed them in his service, he treated them with distinguished confidence and affection; and partly by these arts of courtesy, partly by the means of Sparta, with which state he had long maintained a connection, he drew together a body of thirteen thousand chosen Greeks. His other forces also he augmented under various pretences to the number of a hundred thousand, and putting himself at their head, he marched out from his government, as if he meant only to chastise some of the neighbouring provinces. At length, when matters appeared ripe for it, he disclosed his design to the army, who by dint of entreaties and splendid promises were persuaded to march on against the King.

Bef. Christ 401. ARTAXERXES was not unprepared. He had advice of his brother's approach, and met him with nine hundred thousand men at Cunaxa in the plain of Babylon. Notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers, victory seemed at first to incline



incline to the side of the prince. Already had Book  
the Greeks, with their accustomed prowess, VIII.  
broken through and routed those who were drawn Sect. 2.  
up against them, when Cyrus perceiving his brother, took fire at the sight, and crying out, 'I see him,' rushed impetuously through the midst of the royal guards, slew their captain Artagerdes, and by a violent blow unhorsed the King himself, and brought him to the ground. Had he been here properly supported, that moment might in all probability have given him the wished-for prize of empire. But some few only of his principal officers had followed him; the strength of his army was engaged in other parts; and on every side he was encompassed by the king's servants. Artaxerxes also having recovered himself, discharged a javelin at his brother, which wounding him under the eye, he fell, and was slain instantly. Soon as those with him saw they had lost their master, they all killed themselves. His men likewise, when they heard the news, laid down their arms, and submitted, the Greeks only excepted. These having suffered no defeat, thought themselves entitled to require by a message to the King, that it should be permitted them to return home with safety and honour. A promise was accordingly held out to them, and observed at first with such apparent fairness, that several of their commanders were tempted by the offer of a conference to put themselves in the power of Tissaphernes, who immediately cut their throats. A behaviour so perfidious determined the auxiliary Greeks to renounce all treaty with the Barbarians, and to force their way back to their own country.

NEVER was there a more daring project. They were to make good their retreat from a remote  
part

BOOK part of Asia, in the face of a victorious army,  
 VIII. through the midst of hostile barbarous nations,  
 Sect. 2. across deep and rapid rivers, and over mountains  
 of difficult access and stupendous height. Undis-  
 mayed however by all these discouraging circum-  
 stances, they chose new generals (one of whom  
 was Xenophon) and set out on their intended  
 march. After innumerable impediments and  
 misadventures, after various distresses, both from  
 the length and difficulty of the way and the at-  
 tacks open and secret of enemies, they at length  
 effected their passage to Cotyora, a Grecian colony  
 on the Euxine sea, having employed one hundred  
 and twenty-two days on the journey, and tra-  
 velled upwards of two thousand miles, English  
 measure. When they reached the Euxine, they  
 were reduced to the number of eight thousand  
 six hundred. There ended their march by land.  
 At Cotyora they were furnished with ships; and  
 passing on from thence, first to Thrace, and then  
 to the Asiatic coast, they enlisted under Thymbro  
 the Lacedemonian, who was commissioned to  
 carry on the war against the Persian governors in  
 those parts. This surprising retreat, which disco-  
 vered how little vigour there was in the huge over-  
 grown body that such a handful of men could tri-  
 umph over, is said to have pointed out to Alex-  
 ander of Macedon the way to those victories which  
 have obtained him the name of Great. And  
 doubtless to the intestine wars of Greece may it  
 be ascribed, that even long before Alexander's  
 days, the unwieldy mass of the Persian empire was  
 not laid in ruins. But to our history.

Def. Christ  
 400.

THE ambitious enterprise of Cyrus was at-  
 tended with consequences, that were felt severely  
 by the Greeks of Asia. Their connections with  
 that prince being well known, they found them-  
 selves

selves exposed to the insults both of Tiffaphernes B o o k  
 and Pharnabazus. The former Satrap especially, VIII.  
 to whom, in reward for his services, the govern- Sect. 2.  
 ment had been consigned of the provinces late  
 the appanage of young Cyrus, omitted no oppor-  
 tunity of gratifying his own resentments, as well  
 as the revenge of the King, by making incursions  
 into the Grecian territories. Thymbro therefore  
 had orders from Sparta to protect the Ionians;  
 but not acting with the vigour that was expected,  
 he was, recalled to make room for Dercyllidas. Bef. Christ  
 This leader managed with so much better success, 399.  
 that in the space of two years he obliged the  
 satraps to conclude a treaty with him, by which  
 it was stipulated, ' that the Grecian cities should  
 ' enjoy their liberties unmolested, provided the  
 ' Spartans withdrew from the parts of Asia under  
 ' their jurisdiction: the treaty to subsist, till it  
 ' was ratified or disavowed by the Persian king and  
 ' the state of Sparta.'

FROM Dercyllidas the command was transferred Bef. Christ  
 to king Agesilaus, the brother and successor of 396.  
 Agis. This last had left a son, whose birth being  
 questionable from the intimacy of the queen his  
 mother with Alcibiades, he was set aside to make  
 room for Agesilaus. With many singular advan-  
 tages did Agesilaus ascend the throne of Sparta.  
 He had lived several years a private man, re-  
 moved from the expectation of a crown. He  
 had been educated in all the rigour of Lycurgus'  
 discipline, without any of those softer indulgen-  
 ces, which Sparta injudiciously permitted to the  
 eldest sons of her kings. Hence from his earliest  
 days he was inured to fatigue, to danger, to diffi-  
 culty; vigorous of body, and patient of soul;  
 aspiring, and earnest in pursuit of glory, he was  
 yet inviolably attached to the laws, and strictly  
 observant



BOOK observant of the commands, of his country.

VIII. Thus qualified, it is not surprising, that victory  
Sect. 2. followed his standard, till he had brought the Persian monarchy almost to the brink of ruin. None of the king's lieutenants were able to check his progress; most of the cities of Lesser Asia were his; and the confusion and discontent, that prevailed in the more distant provinces, threatened a general defection; when, in his full career of glory, he was obliged to abandon the inviting prospect, and to return to Greece.

PERSIAN gold was the engine that effected this change of affairs. Tissaphernes, it seems, for his want of success in opposing the Spartan, had been murdered by order of his sovereign; and Tithraustes, who succeeded him in his government, apprehensive of a similar fate, sent an agent into Greece to spirit up a confederacy against Sparta. This agent had directions to spare neither money nor promises in the course of a negotiation, to which the present disposition of the Grecian states gave considerable encouragement. Sparta had used her preponderancy in the scale of Greece with so little management, that the Bœotians, the Corinthians, and the Argives readily engaged to unite in war against her. The Athenians wanted not the inducement of bribery to enter into the association against a state, which had made them endure so large a measure of suffering. Alarmed at this league, the Spartans immediately marched into Bœotia, under the conduct of Lysander, where, in a pitched battle with the allies at Haliartus, they were defeated with the loss of their commander. Pausanias, the Spartan king, who was to have supported Lysander, coming up after the action, and not daring to dispute the victory, concluded a truce with the  
3 enemy,

enemy, on condition Lyfander's body should be restored to him; for which ignominious behaviour he atoned with the loss of his crown, being obliged to retire to Tegea, where he died. B o o k VIII. Sect. 2.

In this manner terminated the busy ambition of Lyfander, a man one of the most extraordinary of his time, of uncommon abilities, and as to money, of unblemished integrity; but daring in the pursuit of power, and insatiable in his desires of it. His reducing the several cities, conquered by the Spartan arms at the close of the Peloponnesian war, under his own controul, by lodging the supreme authority in the hands of his dependants, was a stroke of policy which might have unhinged the Spartan government, had not Pausanias, and Agesilaus also, perceived the tendency, and counteracted his designs. Failing in this plan, he formed a bolder: in order to make himself a way to the throne, he suborned the Pythian oracle to declare the regal succession open to all the branches of the Heraclidean family. But death put an end to his projects.

THE war in Greece so far answered the purposes of Tithraustes, that the *scytale of revocation* was sent from Sparta to Agesilaus. Mean time Aristodemus, tutor to Agesipolis, who had been advanced to the kingdom in the room of his father Pausanias, engaged the confederates at Sicyon, and defeated them. Soon after, Agesilaus, having with wonderful expedition hastened back into Greece, entered Bœotia, and joined battle with the enemy at Coronea. The dispute here was extremely sharp and bloody; Agesilaus himself was wounded, and obtained a dear bought victory. On the other hand, the Spartan fortunes were declining greatly in Asia. Their fleets, which lay off Cnidus, were destroyed by Conon the Bef. Christ 394

BOOK the Athenian and Pharnabazus, their admiral  
VIII. Pisander losing his life in the engagement.

Sect. 2. OF Conon we have already spoken. From the day of Ægos-potamos he had lived in exile, chiefly under the protection of Evagoras king of Cyprus; but when the war broke out between Artaxerxes and Sparta, he found means so far to ingratiate himself at the Persian court, that he was associated with Pharnabazus in the command of the Persian fleet. Not contented with having broken at Cnidus the naval power of Sparta, he aimed, under pretence of serving Artaxerxes, to restore empire to his country. He therefore reduced the Grecian cities of Asia, and the several islands of the Ægean sea, obliging them to renounce all confederacy with Sparta; then passing over to Peloponnesus, he spread desolation along the coasts of Laconia. These exploits performed, he revisited his native land, which he found in the state of humiliation and misery wherein Lysander had left her, her walls demolished, her fortifications waste. Conon formed the generous design of re-establishing this once glorious city, and repaired her breaches with the spoils of the very enemy that wrought her overthrow. Thus by a strange fate, as Sparta had by Persian aid subdued Athens, so now was Athens by Persian aid delivered again from the yoke of Sparta.

Bef. Christ  
393.

THIS return of splendor was also heightened by the successes of Iphicrates. Iphicrates was a young Athenian, distinguished by his military capacity, and famed in history on account of the happy improvement he introduced with respect to the form of the Athenian arms. On the present occasion, he was employed in defending Corinth against the attempts of Agesilaus; and that experienced chief had the mortification to see himself foiled by a  
general,



general, who was only entering into the lists of **BOOK**  
war. **VIII.**

**BUT** it is time to relieve the reader from a **Sect. 2.** detail, neither interesting nor amusing, of the several engagements in which Greece bled, during this period of hostility and confusion. At length Sparta, wasted in strength, and diminished in her empire, had recourse to the Persians: a deputation was sent to Teribazus, Satrap of Sardis, through Antalcidas, than whom certainly there never was a minister better fitted for such an embassy. Antalcidas was a Spartan in name only, soft and luxurious in his manners, accomplished in all the arts of adulation, and in servility a match for the most fawning sycophant of Asia. His first step was to procure the destruction of Conon: by dint of insinuation that he had sacrificed the interests of Artaxerxes to those of Athens, he procured that gallant officer to be laid in chains, who, it is generally believed, was shortly after put to death. The Spartan then opened his commission: 'he was come in the name of his country to sue for the favour and protection of the Great King, and was ready to submit to any terms that monarch would deign to impose, provided Sparta ruled in Greece; and Athens and her allies were humbled'. Soon as the confederates had notice of this application, they also sent ministers to Sardis, where Teribazus, proud of seeing homage paid to him by the ambassadors of so many illustrious states, artfully prolonged their attendance for upwards of a year, alledging every day some new difficulty, and waiting, as he pretended, for farther instructions from Susa.

**AFTER** many delays and various contumelies **Ref. Christ**  
of this kind, at last the commands of the Persian **387.**  
monarch

BOOK monarch were made known to the Grecians,  
 VIII. 'The several powers at war were ordered to  
 Sect. 2. 'lay down their arms. All the cities of Asia,  
 'with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus,  
 'were adjudged to Artaxerxes. Whatever states  
 'were held in subjection by any Grecian power,  
 'were discharged, and left in possession of their  
 'original liberties, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros  
 'excepted, which from time immemorial had  
 'been under the dominion of Athens. And if  
 'any refused to accept of these terms of peace,  
 'they were to be compelled to it by force.'

THE reader will pause here for a moment to reflect, how different were these ignominious injunctions from the treaty in Cimon's days, when the security and liberty of Grecian Asia was the glorious condition. He will see now, what corrupted manners and intestine war had brought on—Ionia, and all the adjacent colonies, betrayed—the sovereignty of Persia acknowledged—and Greece yielding herself up to servility and dependence! To one article of this reproachful peace it may be thought most extraordinary that Sparta should have acceded, that for emancipating all the cities of Greece, and rendering them back their former privileges: yet was this a stroke of deep policy. Far from intending any benefit by it to her neighbours, Sparta hoped by the help of this very engine to erect herself an empire on the ruins of Greece. It was known to all, that in their infancy the Grecian states had been small and inconsiderable. In time, associations were made; a view to mutual security drew several of the petty sovereignties together: others the chance of war had incorporated; one state more powerful than the rest having obliged the adjoining states to become its subjects, to unite in one interest,

interest, and submit to one form of government. B o o k  
 The greater cities likewise had grown up from a VIII.  
 confederacy of villagers, who quitting their de- Sect. 2.  
 fenceless hamlets, agreed to build to themselves  
 places of strength, where they should form an un-  
 divided community. The state of Sparta there-  
 fore, under the specious character of protectress  
 of liberty and guardian of the public peace,  
 sought to dissolve these establishments, to the end  
 that, by crumbling the more powerful bodies  
 into minute and feeble tribes, she might leave  
 them all open to insult and oppression.

TRIAL was first made on the Mantineans. Ref. Christi  
385.  
 The Lacedemonians required, that they should  
 abandon their hearths and temples, and canton  
 themselves in villages, after the manner of living  
 practised by their forefathers. On their refusal,  
 war was declared against them; their city was de-  
 molished, and the inhabitants were dispersed. Af-  
 ter them, the other neighbouring states underwent  
 a similar treatment. Even the Corinthians were  
 compelled to withdraw their garrisons from the  
 places they had taken; neither were the Thebans  
 suffered to retain their supremacy over the cities  
 of Bœotia. And yet Sparta alone, while she thus  
 dismembered every other commonwealth, was to  
 preserve her dominions and usurped territories  
 entire: Messenia was still in subjection, and the  
 nation of the Helotæ held in servitude. Indeed  
 for the present a like indulgence was extended  
 also to Athens, the Lacedemonians thinking it  
 prudent to leave that state unattempted, till the  
 strength of the rest of Greece should be com-  
 pletely broken.

SUCCESSFUL in this first act of injustice, Sparta Ref. Christi  
385.  
 soon proceeded to a second and more flagrant one.  
 She had sent an army, under the orders of  
 Eudamidas,



BOOK Eudamidas, to chastise the Olynthians, a people  
 VIII. of Chalcidice, situated on the Toronean gulph,  
 Sect. 2. whose power and enterprising genius threatened  
 the liberties of all the nations in those parts; and  
 soon after Phœbidas, the brother of Eudamidas,  
 was commanded to follow with an additional  
 body of forces. This officer's way lay by Thebes,  
 which city at that time was divided into two parties,  
 one in the interests of Sparta, headed by  
 Leontiades; the other engaged in supporting the  
 independence and dignity of the Theban government,  
 of which Ismenias was the chief. The  
 march of the Spartan army appeared to Leontiades  
 a favourable opportunity for getting the better of  
 his antagonists; and as the ambitious have not much  
 delicacy in the choice of means, he offered to betray  
 the citadel Cadmea into the hands of Phœbidas, an  
 offer which Phœbidas with as little delicacy accepted.  
 Such an open violation of faith occasioned the utmost  
 indignation. Complaint was immediately made to  
 Sparta; but justice had now little influence in the  
 Spartan councils. A small sacrifice indeed was  
 made to appearances by recalling and fining the  
 aggressor Phœbidas; while, with a ridiculous and  
 insolent inconsistency, the Cadmea was retained,  
 and the sway of Thebes permitted to the traitor  
 Leontiades in conjunction with two other of the  
 creatures of Lacedemon. The consequence was a  
 total subversion of the Theban liberties, and the  
 introduction of every ill annexed to a government  
 that must be supported by oppression. Ismenias  
 was condemned to death for some pretended offence;  
 and of the rest of the citizens, all they whose probity  
 and spirit rendered them formidable to the tyrants,  
 were obliged to flee from their country.

Of this number was Pelopidas. Distinguished Book  
by the advantages of birth and fortune, but yet VIII.  
more by his unblemished virtue, of dauntless Sect. 2.  
mind, great in military skill, and an avowed  
enemy to arbitrary power, it is not surprising  
that the tyrants should mark out this illustrious  
character as the peculiar object of persecution.  
He fled therefore, with several more of his coun-  
trymen, into Attica; for the Athenians now re-  
membered, and retaliated to the afflicted Thebans,  
the kindness they had received from Thebes in  
the day of Lyfander's power. Security however  
did not render Pelopidas inactive, or forgetful of  
the distressed condition of his country. Having Bef. Christ  
concerted a plan with such of those in Thebes as 377.  
might safely be depended on, and encouraged by  
a promise of assistance from Athens, he and some  
few more of the exiles stole privately into Thebes,  
made their way even to the apartment where  
Archias and Philip, two of the tyrants, were  
giving a loose to revelling and joy at a banquet,  
and slew them both; proceeding thence to the  
house of Leontiades, they forced it open, and  
killed him also. With the tyrants fell most of  
their creatures, and the ministers of their crimes:  
they were sacrificed to the public vengeance. Yet  
nothing appeared to have been done, while the  
Spartans remained in possession of Cadmea. The  
garrison at first made a shew of resistance; but  
intimidated by the approach of the forces from  
Athens, as well as by the resolute appearance of  
the Thebans themselves, who crowded from every  
side to the banners of the patriot chiefs, they soon  
made terms with the besiegers, and Thebes saw  
herself freed from the galling yoke of servitude.

MEAN time exertions had not been wanting on  
the side of Sparta to counteract this generous en-

**BOOK** terprise of Pelopidas. Cleombrotus, who, on the  
 VIII. death of his brother Agefipolis in the Olynthian  
 Sect. 2. expedition, had succeeded to the throne, hastened  
 to the relief of Cadmea. The garrison he met on  
 their way homeward: probably had they been  
 less early in capitulating, that citadel had not so  
 easily been wrested out of the hands of the Spar-  
 tans. Notwithstanding, Cleombrotus marched  
 on towards Thebes. And now, in the opinion of  
 all Greece, was that unfortunate city doomed to  
 inevitable destruction: her allies abandoned her;  
 even the Athenians drew off their troops, and dis-  
 avowed all connection with the Theban people;  
 and the utmost force Pelopidas could muster  
 seemed, with respect to Sparta, of little signifi-  
 cancy. Greece knew not, that Thebes in one of  
 her citizens had a strength equal to any the  
 Spartans could bring against her. Epaminondas  
 was the man.

His breast was the residence of every virtue  
 that commands admiration and respect: he was  
 fortunate in giving to his mind the high culture  
 of philosophy, which he had learned from the  
 instructions of Lysis, one of the most celebrated  
 disciples of Pythagoras. The use he made of  
 these advantages was to shun notice and honours  
 as industriously, as the bulk of men pursue them.  
 Though of noble extraction, his circumstances  
 were narrow: but his poverty sat easy on him.  
 He delighted in the privacy and innocent peace a  
 scanty fortune afforded him; and contemplation,  
 frugality, and content supplied him with a hap-  
 piness such as wealth has not the power of giving.  
 To this love of retreat he owed the security he en-  
 joyed under the government of the late tyrants.  
 During the four years those wicked men triumph-  
 ed, the virtuous Epaminondas lived in Thebes  
 unmolested,



unmolested, his obscurity and humble manners B o o k placing him out of the reach of suspicion. From VIII. his youth he had been nearly connected with Pello- Sect. 2. pidas: those two excellent men loved each other with a degree of friendship only to be found between persons of exalted virtue. Epaminondas was apprised of the several schemes devised by his friend when in banishment, and assisted him with his counsels: yet not by any means could he be prevailed on to be an actor in the tragedy which put an end to the Spartan usupation. Such an enterprise, he thought, could not be executed without much effusion of blood, and probably the innocent and the guilty might be confounded together. He dreaded the excess of cruelty which generally disgraces attempts of this kind, the furious resentment of a people deeply injured, the rage of civil hatred, and the insults of a licentious soldiery. Such was Epaminondas. In the late commotions of Greece he had appeared in arms, and had appeared with honour; but the oppressions of Sparta having put an end to all martial struggle, he retired to the tranquil shade of a philosophic life, from which the distress of his country, and the prospect of a fair open war, now called him forth to unsheath his sword against the desolaters of Greece.

UNDER the influence of these two excellent men, the Theban affairs quickly assumed a brighter aspect. The very genius of the Theban people seemed now to be improved and exalted; and they who lately trembled before the power of Sparta, discovered in themselves ability and spirit to check her progress. Cleombrotus was opposed, baffled, repulsed: he renewed his attempts, he laid waste a part of the Theban territory, but found himself in the end obliged to return without

BOOK success to Sparta, after committing the care of  
 VIII. the army to Sphodrias. Thebes, however, stood  
 Sect. 2. as yet alone in this hazardous war. Her statesmen  
 devised the means of forcing Athens into a confederacy with her.

A TRUSTY Theban was employed, under a fictitious character, to introduce himself into the Spartan camp, which at this time lay in the neighbourhood of Thespiæ. His business was, to engage Sphodrias to attempt the Piræan harbour. 'He had now', he told that officer, 'the fairest opportunity of performing an important service to his country; such a pledge would secure the faith of Athens; the way to the Piræus was short, and under cover of the night he might easily march thither, and surprise it.' Sphodrias, a man inconsiderate, and fond of adventure, readily embraced the project. But unluckily for him, before he reached Athens, the day dawned, as Epaminondas expected. The Athenians were alarmed; and Sphodrias, vexed at his disappointment, revenged himself by ravaging the Attic borders. When complaint and a demand of satisfaction were made at Sparta, the influence of king Agesilaus saved his friend Sphodrias from the condemnation he justly deserved. These unworthy proceedings dissolved all confidence between Athens and Sparta. Avowed hostilities were thought preferable to a perfidious peace; and Chabrias the Athenian was ordered to join the Bœotians.

Ref. Chab. AGESILAUS, the ambitious Agesilaus, on whom,  
 376. most historians agree, the whole guilt of these ruinous wars is to be charged, determined to take on him the command in Bœotia, in the hope of restoring the Spartan fortune. His abilities and military character have been often noticed. He

was

was unquestionably one of the best generals of BOOK the age, and had besides at this time a force in VIII. the field that far outnumbered that of the enemy. Sect. 2. Yet neither his skill nor his superior numbers availed against the bravery and conduct of the opposite leaders. His projects were frustrated, his troops routed on several occasions, and at last he himself received a dangerous wound. So that, as Plutarch finely observes, proof was now given, that martial spirit is not confined either to climate or people, and that not on the banks of the Eurotas only warriors are formed; they are to be found in whatever soil the youth are taught to be ashamed of things base, and to be daring in the service of virtue; wherever the least disgrace is accounted a juster object of apprehension than the greatest danger: and such, at this period, was the happy state of the Theban people.

To get rid of an unsuccessful war, Sparta had Ref. Christ 375. recourse to the same arts she had before employed: the authority of Artaxerxes was called in to compose the troubles of Greece. It seems the Persian, who meditated war on Egypt, and was besides a friend to the Lacedemonians, demanded Grecian auxiliaries, under pretence of which, the several powers were required to desist from their private quarrels. A general convention therefore of the Ref. Christ 371. Grecian states was appointed to be held at Sparta, where Epaminondas with the other deputies from Thebes accordingly appeared. Agesilaus, in the full spirit of that plan he had conceived for establishing Sparta sovereign over the rest of Greece, now urged again, as an essential article of the peace, a proposal made long before; ‘ that the  
‘ several Grecian cities should be declared free,  
‘ and independent on each other; that all the  
‘ Bœotians should be reinstated in their rights,  
‘ and



BOOK ' and enfranchised from all kind of subjection to  
 VIII. ' the Theban commonwealth, which should be  
 Sect. 2. ' called upon to rebuild whatever cities she had de-  
 ' molished, and to restore to every people the  
 ' territories that originally appertained to them.'

THE aim of this wily proposal did not escape the penetration of Epaminondas. He answered resolutely, ' that it was not from Thebes the ' liberties of Greece were most in danger. ' Sparta was the object they had to dread; that ' ambitious republic, who was continually en- ' larging her territories by unjust invasion, and ' who held every state around her in servile de- ' pendence. To secure a lasting peace therefore, ' let this exorbitant power be reduced; let Sparta ' shew an example of moderation, by withdraw- ' ing within her antient frontier.' The hearts of all the deputies went along with the generous advocate of liberty; but the fear of Sparta prevailed over them. Agefilasus took advantage of their timidity, and raising his voice, ' Say then,' resumed he, ' Epaminondas, is it just and right, ' that the cities of Bœotia should be free?'— ' And you, Agefilasus,' answered the gallant Theban, ' say, is it just and right the cities of ' Laconia should be free?' The proud Agefilasus could refrain no longer: ' I exclude,' said he, ' the Thebans from this treaty of peace'—and with these words, struck the name of Thebes out of the treaty that lay before him.

Ref Christ  
 370.

WITH all possible diligence did Epaminondas and the six other Bœotarchs prepare to meet the threatened war from the Spartans, whom Cleombotus was commanded to lead into Bœotia, to the number of eleven thousand men. The Theban forces did not exceed six thousand: but all was now at stake, and no choice remained to Epami-

nondas

nondas but to march out and meet the enemy. B o o k  
 Many circumstances ill-boding, according to the VIII.  
 opinion of those days, being observed to attend Sect. 2.  
 their outset, wrought so on the Thebans (a super-  
 stitious people) that several of them earnestly re-  
 quested of Epaminondas not to proceed. The  
 generous patriot, who saw his country was irrecov-  
 erably lost if he retreated, made answer out of  
 Homer, as he marched on,

——*His sword the brave man draws,*

Il. 12. 243.

*And asks no omen but his country's cause.*

However, he sought how to efface these melan-  
 choly impressions by prodigies of an opposite ten-  
 dency, employing against superstition the aid of  
 superstition herself. Some of his friends, who  
 left Thebes after the departure of the army, had  
 instructions to say, ‘ the armour of Hercules  
 ‘ had disappeared, and the priests had declared,  
 ‘ that the god was gone to fight for the city of  
 ‘ his nativity.’ The soothsayers gave out, ‘ that  
 ‘ divine vengeance awaited the Spartans at the  
 ‘ tombs of the daughters of Scedæsus at Leuctra,’  
 maidens, who in time of old had been violated by  
 certain Spartans, and on account of their injured  
 modesty had killed themselves in the very place  
 where Cleombrotus was encamped; nor had the  
 crime been ever expiated. From the cave of Tro-  
 phonius also word was brought, ‘ that the  
 ‘ Thebans were to institute games in honour of  
 ‘ Jupiter, as soon as they should have obtained  
 ‘ the victory at Leuctra.’ Encouraged by these  
 and other similar assurances, the army moved on,  
 resolute to engage the host of Sparta, though now  
 strengthened by an accession of two thousand  
 allies under the command of Archidamus.

It is beyond question, that the success of this  
 memorable battle, in which the Thebans tri-  
 umphed

BOOK triumphed over so great a superiority of numbers,

VIII. was principally owing to the admirable skill of  
Sect. 2. Epaminondas in marshalling his troops. His  
chosen men he placed, fifty deep, in his left wing,  
opposite to that in which Cleombrotus fought;  
and having ordered his right wing to retreat as  
the other advanced, he bore down on the enemy  
point-wise, like the beak of a galley. The force  
and weight of such a column was irresistible.  
The Lacedemonians were presently broken, and  
the Thebans pouring in, soon completed the con-  
fusion. In this attack Cleombrotus was slain, and  
with him the bravest of his men, the loss amount-  
ing to five thousand, of which one thousand were  
citizens of Sparta, and the flower of the Spartan  
nation. It was a decisive blow, not less effectual  
in reducing the power of Sparta, than in fixing  
on a firm basis the independence of Thebes. To  
Epaminondas it gave indeed an uncommon mea-  
sure of glory. He had repressed tyranny; he had  
saved his country; he had raised a low, afflicted,  
dispirited people to the foremost place of honour  
in Greece. And yet that excellent man was wont  
to say, he esteemed it the choicest part of his  
glory, that his father and mother were yet living  
to partake of the joy and credit of his success.  
It is a matter of no easy determination, whether  
the son or the general is most entitled to our  
esteem.

THE news of this disaster reached Sparta, as  
the Ephori were superintending the gymnastic sports:  
yet they continued the solemnity, and sent pri-  
vately to the families that had lost their friends  
the names of those who had fallen in the battle.  
The ensuing day, the fathers and relations of the  
slain appeared in public, congratulating each  
other, and applauding the gallant behaviour of  
their



their children and kinsmen. Such in general Book  
 were the Spartan manners: and probably also on VIII.  
 this occasion, whatever they felt, their pride as- Sect. 2.  
 sisted them in concealing it. Nevertheless, how  
 great they esteemed their loss to be, appears from  
 the following circumstance. By the laws of  
 Sparta, the man that fled in battle was declared  
 incapable of ever serving his country more. But,  
 in this case, as many as had escaped the Theban  
 sword, had saved themselves by flight. And if  
 Sparta was to be deprived of all these, how de-  
 plorable was her condition! The decision there-  
 fore was referred to Agesilaus, who wisely decreed  
 in favour of the disgraced citizens. ‘For this  
 ‘day,’ pronounced he, ‘be the laws suspended:  
 ‘to-morrow let them resume their vigour.’ In  
 the place of Cleombrotus, his son Agesipolis was  
 appointed king. But he only reigned one year,  
 and was succeeded by Cleomenes his brother.

A PEACE soon after followed, but a peace of Bef. Christ  
 short continuance. The Spartans began again 369.  
 to molest the Arcadians, and the solicitations of  
 that distressed people furnished the Thebans with  
 a pretence for entering Peloponnesus. Their army Bef. Christ  
 now amounted to forty thousand men, besides 368.  
 thirty thousand adventurers who followed the  
 camp for plunder: so greatly had success en-  
 creased the number of the Theban auxiliaries.  
 At the head of this army, which they divided  
 into four bodies, Epaminondas and Pelopidas  
 broke into Laconia at four several places at once,  
 rendezvoused at Sellacia, where they gave Age-  
 silaus the slip, who was preparing to offer them  
 battle, and pursued their march with fire and  
 sword to Sparta.

THE approach of the Theban army threw the  
 inhabitants into the deepest consternation. And  
now

BOOK now did that proud city, which for many ages  
 VIII. had not known an enemy to advance near it, and  
 Sect. 2. whose boast it was, 'that the Spartan matrons  
 ' never had beheld the smoke of an hostile camp,'  
 see destruction impending over it. The instant  
 Agefilaus had intelligence of the danger, he flew  
 to the relief of Sparta, and got into the city:  
 but the Thebans still pressed on. Epaminondas  
 himself, in defiance of the king, threw himself  
 into the Eurotas, though swelled with the winter  
 snows, swam over, and attacked the very suburbs,  
 which he set in a blaze; whilst Agefilaus, con-  
 tented with defending the more important passes,  
 remained entrenched within. After having thus  
 for several days made the Spartans feel the horrors  
 of war, and the distresses of an invaded desolated  
 country, Epaminondas drew off his troops.  
 Whether it was, that he questioned the event,  
 should he have attempted to take the place by  
 storm; or whether, as most historians are of  
 opinion, the glory of this antient city, renowned  
 for the greatness of its exploits and the excellence  
 of its laws—the loss which Greece itself must  
 have sustained, should such a commonwealth have  
 been cut off—the indignation and reproach, to  
 which the Thebans must have been exposed for  
 this act of cruelty—did altogether, or severally,  
 arrest the uplifted hand of the conqueror.

His next exploit was of an opposite nature.  
 Messenia, the country of the admired Aristomenes,  
 was still in subjection, her cities waste, her people  
 in bondage, or scattered in distant countries.  
 More than two hundred years had now elapsed,  
 since this disaster had fallen upon the Messenians.  
 Epaminondas recalled home the remains of that  
 dispersed people; he restored them to the pos-  
 session

session of the territories their ancestors had enjoyed, he built them a city, he strengthened it with walls, he gave them a garrison for their defence, and blest them with liberty and independence; leaving thus behind him a lasting monument of the humanity and justice of Thebes, as well as a firm rampart against the power of Sparta. He then prepared to return home. The Athenians and Corinthians (for now both those states were in league with Sparta) waited to intercept him. But the Athenians having neglected the principal defile, Epaminondas passed on, and falling on the Corinthians, who had fortified themselves in the Isthmus, he forced their lines, routed and pursued them to the gates of Corinth.

INSTEAD however of being welcomed home with the exultations of their countrymen after an expedition of so much splendor, Epaminondas and Pelopidas experienced the effects of that narrow jealousy, the common misfortune of republican governments. They were accused of having acted in contravention to the laws, and were prosecuted for it with the utmost vigour. It seems, the two friends, unwilling to quit Peloponnesus till Sparta was completely humbled, had retained the command of the army beyond the time appointed them; an offence which certain of their countrymen, envious of a merit they could not equal, pursued capitally, under cover of vindicating the injured majesty of the laws. Pelopidas met the charge with a spirited indignation. He laid open to the people the dark malicious arts, by which these sons of calumny sought to mislead them. He then boldly upbraided the Thebans in general with ingratitude in receiving impressions to the detriment of their best friends, of men who had exposed their lives in their defence,



B o o k fence, and laboured with no other view but to  
VIII. make them free and happy.

Sect. 2. EPAMINONDAS was more calm. ‘ If,’ he told them, ‘ it was the will of his country that he should expiate his offence by death, he submitted cheerfully to her sentence. One request only he had to offer; that upon his tomb should be inscribed the cause for which he suffered— ‘ Let posterity be told that I suffered capital infliction, *because I rendered the Theban arms victorious at Leuctra; because I saved my expiring country, and asserted the liberties of Greece; because I led my countrymen to the suburbs of Sparta, spreading terror and desolation through the borders of that unjust people; because I raised Messenia from her ruins, and confined the Lacedæmonians within narrower limits.*’ The keen temper of this reply so greatly overmatched all the weapons of the adverse party, that the judges departed out of the assembly without so much as giving their suffrages. Some time after, the fomenters of these dangerous contentions suffered the punishment they deserved: among the rest, Meneclides, whose intrigues had urged on the prosecution, was forced into banishment.

THEBES was now at the height of her glory. Enjoying the fruits of her victories, an honourable peace at home, admiration and respect abroad; her finances increased, her territories enlarged, her allies numerous; she was become the patroness of liberty, the avenger of the wrongs of oppressed nations. To her protection the people of Illyricum, of Macedonia, of Thessaly had recourse. Even the Persian monarch courted her favour. Pelopidas had been sent ambassador to the court of Susa, and of all the Grecian ministers not one was treated with so much distinction: the Thebans  
were

were declared the friends and allies of Artaxerxes Βοοκ  
 and his house for ever; their acquisitions were VIII.  
 confirmed to them, their empire confessed, the Sect. 2.  
 freedom of Messenia acknowledged. Consider-  
 able as these advantages were, it was the object  
 of Epaminondas to augment them by the addition  
 of one more important, by joining a power at sea  
 to the dominion his country had acquired by land.  
 In this view he built a fleet of an hundred gallies,  
 he concluded a league with some of the most  
 powerful of the Grecian islands; and probably,  
 had his days been prolonged, even in this plan,  
 to which the mediterranean situation of Thebes  
 gave no encouragement, he might have suc-  
 ceeded.

MEAN while, Sparta made but weak efforts  
 towards recovering the superiority she had lost.  
 Peace she had not with Thebes, and on some oc-  
 casions she attempted a kind of opposition to her  
 power: but her infirm strength would not admit  
 of vigorous measures. Her arms were chiefly Bef Christ  
366.  
 employed against her Arcadian neighbours; and  
 so low was her present condition, that every vic-  
 tory she obtained in this insignificant war was  
 accounted a glorious triumph. The Athenians  
 were the only allies, on whom she had sure de-  
 pendance. These two states, both of them de-  
 pressed by the aggrandisement of Thebes, and  
 impatient of this newly erected empire, were  
 united together in interests and resentments.  
 Forgetful of their old animosities, they now saw  
 not any thing in each other that should provoke  
 either fear or envy. And hence did Sparta by  
 solemn treaty concede the dominion of the seas  
 to Athens, and Athens as sincerely engaged to  
 support and defend Sparta.

SUCH

**BOOK** SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the  
**VIII.** Tegeans, oppressed by them of Mantinea, applied  
**Sect. 2.** to Thebes for protection, and had their suit imme-  
**Bef. Christ** diately granted. Pelopidas at this time was no  
 363. more. He had fallen in Thessaly, in battle against  
 Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. The crimes of that  
 wicked usurper had reached the ear of the The-  
 bans, who in pity to the miseries of his people had,  
 after some ineffectual remonstrances, commissioned  
 Pelopidas to reduce him by force of arms. The  
 Theban general had also his private wrongs to in-  
 cite him. He had been cast into prison by the  
 perfidious Alexander, in contempt of his sacred  
 character, when on an embassy to him from Thebes,  
 and might probably have perished in a dungeon,  
 had not Epaminondas by an irruption into Thes-  
 saly compelled the usurper to set him at liberty.  
 Fired by the remembrance of this injury, Pelopi-  
 das gladly seized the opportunity of revenge, the  
 gratification of which he pursued with so little dis-  
 cretion, that he paid for it at the price of his life:  
 he met the tyrant in battle, and pursuing him into  
 the midst of his guards, was slain, before the  
 Thebans could come up to his assistance. But  
 though Pelopidas was not, yet did the Theban  
**Bef. Christ** vigour still subsist in Epaminondas. And he was  
 362. ordered to advance into Peloponnesus.

THIS expedition revived the alarms and jealous-  
 ies of the newly associated states, who receiving  
 the Mantineans into their alliance, and pretending  
 fears for the liberties of Arcadia, set themselves  
 to oppose the Theban commander. Epaminondas,  
 sensible of the importance of the war, called forth  
 all his strength of genius to support the reputation  
 he had earned. Whatever the ability of a general  
 could devise, or the activity and bravery of the  
 soldier could execute, was put in practice—  
 marches,



marches, countermarches, deep stratagems, bold **B o o k** enterprises. Nevertheless, his prosperous fortune **VIII.** seemed to have forsaken him. He thought to **Sect. 2.** intercept the Athenians on their way from Athens, and was disappointed. He attempted Sparta, and was repulsed. He miscarried in an endeavour to surprize Mantinea. His enemies also were encreasing in number; and the term drew nigh when his commission was to expire. These considerations determined him to stake all on the issue of a battle, the opportunity for which soon presented itself.

THE Spartans and their allies covered Mantinea; the Thebans were encamped on an adjacent hill. Epaminondas draws out his men in view of the enemy, takes a compass, and commands them to halt again, as if he designed a new encampment. Deceived by this feint, the confederates had laid aside all expectations of a present engagement, when the Thebans appeared moving on in line of battle. Nor was it only by this artifice that he shewed the general. His forces he had ranged with consummate art. In the left wing he and his faithful Thebans occupied the post opposite to the Spartans and Mantineans: the fierce Argives, in the other wing, were to attack the Athenians; whilst the Eubœans, Locrians, Sicyonians, and Messenians, in the centre, were to engage with the Achæans and those of Elis: his cavalry, partly Theffalians, closed the line, and among the horse were bowmen and slingers interspersed. In this order he advanced. And his directions were the same as in the day of Leuctra, that when the attack was to be made, the whole weight of his infantry should fall into one column, and bear down on the right wing of the enemy.

**BOOK** So excellent a disposition could scarcely fail of  
VIII. its effect. The Spartans were soon broken through.

**SECT. 2.** In every other part also was the enemy giving way; and all things promised to Thebes a complete victory. However, the Spartans rallied again, and renewing the charge, they and the Thebans closed with each other in bloody conflict: the former indignant, that an empire they had held so long should be wrested from them; the latter earnest to maintain the glory they had acquired, and to exalt their country above the reach of oppression. In this struggle, Epaminondas suffered the ardour of the patriot to hurry him on, till he had forced his way into the midst of the Lacedemonian phalanx. His very name spread terror among them: they fled before him, and already was their commander slain by his hand, when, as he pushed forward eager to finish their defeat, a Spartan struck at him with his javelin. The weapon pierced his breast, and the wood breaking short left the bearded iron behind.

**F**AINTING with extreme anguish and loss of blood, the excellent Epaminondas fell senseless; whilst his faithful Thebans rushed furious to the place, and dealing slaughter on every side, rescued and carried off to his tent the person of their expiring general. Immediately the deepest consternation diffused itself throughout their camp. No shout of victory was to be heard; but the countenances of all men appeared clouded over with anxious sorrow. To every Theban it was manifest, that in losing him he lost a father and a friend; the friend and patron of liberty, and the father of his country.

**W**HEN he was seated in his tent, and his spirits were returned to him, he enquired concerning his shield. The loss of this, we have seen, was accounted

counted infamous. Being told it was safe, he BOOK  
 desired to see it, and embraced 'the companion,' VIII:  
 as he called it, 'of his toils and glory,' *And* Sect. 2.  
*who are victorious?* demanded he again. *The The-*  
*bans*, they made answer. *Then*, replied he, *I die*  
*happy*; and cheerful and composed, commanded  
 the surgeons to cut out the head of the javelin.  
 All those about him knew, as well as he, that  
 death must follow the extraction, and began anew  
 to lament themselves. 'Oh,' cried one of them,  
 'you are dying, Epaminondas! Could Thebes at  
 'least have the hopes of seeing you live again in  
 'your posterity. But your country loses you;  
 'and (most afflicting!) she loses you entirely.'—  
 'Not so,' returned Epaminondas: 'I leave be-  
 'hind me two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea,  
 'whose names shall never die' Then, with the  
 same composure as before, he renewed his orders  
 to the surgeons, and the instant the operation was  
 over, expired.

SUCH was the end of Epaminondas, the ablest  
 general, and (what is a far better title to praise)  
 one of the most excellent and virtuous men, that  
 Greece, or perhaps any other country, ever gave  
 birth to: a man, who, instead of receiving a lus-  
 tre from high office, added dignity to magistracy,  
 and graced the honours with which he was invested;  
 who fought victory only for the sake of the public  
 happiness; and who never fought a battle but to  
 free enslaved nations, and to break the shackles of  
 injustice. It is the observation of Plutarch con-  
 cerning Pelopidas and him, that they never spilled  
 the blood of any man they had conquered, nor  
 ever despoiled of liberty any city they had taken.  
 Indeed Epaminondas may be said to have possessed  
 all the nobler qualities of the statesman and the  
 warrior, without being stained with any one of their  
 VOL. I. L 1 vices.



Βοοκ vices. A stranger to avarice and ambition, averse  
 VIII. from violence, his nature was gentle, patient,  
 Sect. 2. humble; his manners were upright, and plain, and  
 modest. He loved peace: and as we have said  
 already, gladly would he have spent his days in  
 the calm prosecution of truth and virtue. The  
 necessities of his country drew him from his re-  
 tirement. Who would have thought, that a phi-  
 losopher should at once approve himself a com-  
 plete statesman and an accomplished general, a  
 general, the admiration of all succeeding ages,  
 and the greatest master of *tactics* that ever appeared  
 amongst the Grecians? Who could suppose, that  
 such a general, and such a statesman, in the midst  
 of his splendor, should still retain the virtues of  
 the philosopher—the same humility and disinter-  
 estedness, when become the arbiter of nations;  
 the same poverty and contempt of wealth, when  
 the treasures of Greece were open to him; the  
 same moderation, the same humane mind, the  
 same strictness of manners, in the hurry of a camp,  
 and tumult of battle? In the space of a very few  
 years he did more than all the preceding captains  
 of Greece had been able to effect, towards reduc-  
 ing the imperious insolence of the Lacedemoni-  
 ans, with whose genius he was well acquainted,  
 and whose policy and cruel ambition he held in  
 abhorrence. It was his boast, that he had taught  
 them to *lengthen their monosyllables*, to lay aside  
 that haughty brevity which marked their language  
 towards as many as presumed to expostulate with  
 them. It is also a circumstance well deserving of  
 notice, that as the Thebans in the course of his  
 administration rose to the height of empire, so,  
 when he was dead, they soon relapsed into their  
 former obscurity. Bereft of him, who was the  
 soul of their councils, and the vigour of their  
 armies,

armies, they became, says Justin, like a spear Book  
 whose point is broken off, impotent and worth- VIII.  
 less. What is most to be lamented in the fate of Sect. 2.  
 Epaminondas, the life of this excellent man was  
 lavished away in *domestic* war. He died by Gre-  
 cian hands. And he, who might so nobly have  
 vindicated the liberties of Greece against Barba-  
 rian force, was employed at home in opposing law-  
 less usurpation, and in circumscribing the power  
 of Sparta. This was the consideration which  
 moved Plutarch to say, that had the Grecians of  
 that era beheld Alexander seated on the throne of  
 Darius, the sight would have drawn tears from  
 them, when they reflected, that they had left  
 open that glory to a Macedonian, whilst they sa-  
 crificed their own heroic chiefs in the fields of  
 Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

BUT if Thebes lost irreparably by the fall of  
 her great champion, neither did that event enable  
 Sparta to recover her ascendancy. The day of  
 Mantinea was fatal to her also; and neither side  
 chose any longer to pursue a war alike destructive  
 to both. Peace accordingly was concluded with Bef. Christ.  
 Thebes by the confederates of Sparta on the terms, 361.  
 that every state should retain, independent of any  
 other power, what they were then in possession of.  
 And though the Spartans, out of hatred to the  
 inhabitants of Messenia, refused to ratify the  
 treaty, yet their weakness did not permit them to  
 assert their antient claim of empire. Even Agefi-  
 laus himself, whose arrogance and ambition had  
 brought ruin on his country, seems now to have  
 entirely despaired of restoring Sparta; for we  
 find him about this time in a character very un-  
 worthy of the high spirit he had displayed in his  
 earlier days. Shortly after the death of Epami-  
 nondas, he went, in quality of mercenary, into  
 L 1 2 Egypt,

**BOOK** Egypt, to assist king Tachos against the Persians ;  
**VIII.** but receiving some disgust, he deserted from him  
**SECT. 2.** to Nectanebus, the nephew (or son, as others will have it) of that prince, expelled Tachos, and settled Nectanebus in full possession of the throne. In his return homeward, he sickened on the coast of Africa, whither he had been driven by stress of weather, and died there, at the extraordinary age of eighty four.

It was certainly a great misfortune to Sparta, that Agefilas had not less abilities, or more virtue: an excellent foldier, a subtil politician, well skilled in the arts of government; modest, frugal, courteous; who seemed to have nothing of the King about him, but the patience of toil, the firmness of soul, the thirst of glory. And yet were all these qualities rendered pernicious through a mistaken love for his country, and an intemperate desire of extending her dominions. Upright, observant of the laws, with respect to her; with respect to others, he was perfidious, cruel, tyrannical: and the influence and authority, which his modest deportment secured to him at home, he made use of only to invade and oppress abroad. By this conduct he plunged Sparta into ruinous wars; he forced the nations of Greece to confederate against her, and conspire her destruction; he wasted her strength in vain undertakings, and left her disgraced and humbled. In his place reigned his son Archidamus, to whom he had ceded the crown before his departure for Egypt.

It might have been expected, that Athens would have profited by the depressed condition of her neighbours of Thebes and Sparta, and again have taken a distinguished part in the affairs of Greece. But in the event the death of Epaminondas



nondas proved fatal to the Athenians, not less B o o k  
 than to the other two states. Delivered from him VIII.  
 who kept up their emulation, they grew secure Sect. 2.  
 and indolent. The love of ease and pleasure  
 stifled that of glory and independency. The  
 virtues of antient days were forgotten. Works  
 of taste and delicacy, poetry, and dramatic shew,  
 became the sole business of the people. Even  
 the funds assigned for the support of their fleets  
 and armies were consumed in sports and festivals,  
 a preposterous economy devoting to the enter-  
 tainment of the idle citizen what should have  
 been given to the maintenance of the soldier and  
 mariner; so that, if we may believe Plutarch, it  
 cost a larger sum to represent some of the famous  
 pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than had  
 been expended in carrying on the war against the  
 Barbarians. To such an height had the corrup-  
 tion, which Pericles first introduced, prevailed  
 among them. Now also was eloquence become a  
 trade: the public councils were under the guidance  
 of the orator, and never did Athens abound with  
 speakers so much as at this time—the sure indi-  
 cation of a factious, contentious democracy. In  
 concurrence likewise with these evils were to be  
 seen all the other mischiefs, that portend the ap-  
 proaching fall of a commonwealth; sycophants  
 in office, pensioners to foreign courts concealing  
 themselves under the character of zealous patriots,  
 malicious prosecutions encouraged, the magis-  
 tracy despised, the laws trampled on, a total dis-  
 regard to the public good, and a venal spirit pos-  
 sessing all ranks of men.

The condition of the other Grecian states was  
 to the full as miserable; most of them rent by  
 domestic divisions, or exhausted by their late  
 wars. Besides, though now seemingly at peace,  
they

BOOK they were all disunited the one from the other.

VIII. Their subsisting alliances were the work of fear or

Sect. 2. jealousy only. No subordination was preserved, no common interest was pursued; but the single endeavour of all parties was to take the lead, and to acquire the power of controuling their antagonists.

## B O O K VIII.

## SECTION III.

**W**HILST degenerate manners and decay of **Book** vigour were in this manner invading **VIII.** Greece on every side, an obscure prince of Ma- **Sect. 3.** cedon was making his way to empire. Philip, the son of Amyntas, had been educated in the school of adversity. In his earlier days sent as an hostage to Thebes, he had lived sixteen years in a kind of exile from his country; an event however, which became the foundation of his greatness. It was his fortune to be committed to the care of Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas; whence he had the opportunity of knowing Epaminondas, of observing his virtues, of studying his great example. At length the news of a re- **Bef. Christ** volution in Macedonia coming to Thebes, he stole **359.** away, and fled homeward, where all things were in the utmost confusion. His father's reign had been



B O O K been weak and distressed. His two brothers, who  
 VIII. had successively filled the throne, were dead, the  
 Sect. 3. one taken off some years before by domestic  
 treason, the other, Perdiccas, lately slain in a  
 battle with the Illyrians. The heir of the crown  
 was an infant. The kingdom itself was likely to  
 become a prey to every neighbouring power; to  
 the Illyrians, who flushed with victory were on the  
 point of entering it; to its daily invaders, the  
 Pæonians; to the Thracians, pretending to place  
 Pausanias, a prince of the royal blood, on the  
 throne; and lastly to the Athenians, who sup-  
 ported Argeus, and had sent a fleet and troops to  
 his assistance.

IN this difficult situation, the Macedonians cast  
 their eyes on Philip, and deposing an helpless  
 infant, called in a prince that seemed able to de-  
 fend them. The first exploits of his reign justi-  
 fied their choice. Unequal to the multitude of  
 enemies he had to encounter, he took off the  
 greater number, some by promises, others by  
 presents. He retrieved the drooping courage of  
 his Macedonians, and restored discipline among  
 them. He repelled Pausanias. He met Argeus  
 in battle, defeated and slew him, and by artfully  
 dismissing those Athenians he took prisoners,  
 deluded Athens into a peace. He then fell un-  
 expectedly on the Pæonians and Illyrians; the  
 former he subdued, and obliged the latter to re-  
 linquish all their conquests in Macedonia. His  
 next attempt was directed against Amphipolis,  
 the barrier of his dominions on the side of  
 Thrace, and (as we remarked in describing it)  
 an Athenian colony. The difficulty was, what  
 conduct it was proper to observe with relation to  
 this place: if he retained it, he irritated the  
 Athenians; if he gave it up to them, he unco-

vered his own frontier. This subtil politician, B o o k  
 then but twenty three years old, did neither. VIII.  
 He declared the Amphipolitans free. The spe- Sect. 3.  
 cious grant, however, subsisted no longer than Bef. Christ  
 the necessity of his affairs: some time after, he 358.  
 seized again on Amphipolis, which he annexed Bef. Christ  
 finally to his dominions. The like policy he 356.  
 made use of towards every state around him,  
 employing force or stratagem, peace or war, as  
 occasion invited, improving every opportunity,  
 pursuing every advantage. So that, scarcely  
 were three years elapsed after his return to Mace-  
 don, when already Philip was become the most  
 considerable prince in the northern parts of  
 Greece: his armies were numerous and well  
 disciplined, his dominions enlarged, and his  
 power respected,

IN the midst of a progress to empire which  
 ought to have alarmed the Athenians, this incon-  
 siderate people continued blind to the dangers  
 that threatened them, nor could persuade them-  
 selves, that a king of Macedonia was capable of  
 aspiring to the conquest of Greece. The repeat-  
 ed declarations of the crafty Philip had their  
 effect in lulling them to this fatal security. And  
 far from apprehending danger on that side, they  
 were at this very time engaged in unnecessary  
 wars, the Social first, and then the Phocian,  
 which served to no other purpose but to waste  
 their small remains of vigour, and to expose the  
 weakness and corruption of their government.

THE Social or war of the allies was occasioned Bef. Christ  
 by a confederacy of the Byzantines with the 357.  
 islands of Rhodes, Cos, and Chios to throw off  
 their dependance upon Athens, and to assert their  
 common liberties. The Athenians, as jealous of  
 their prerogative as they had been during the  
 sunshine

**B O O K** sunshine of their fortune, forthwith equipped a  
**VIII.** fleet to reduce these refractory allies. The war  
**Sect. 3.** ended, after three years, in an ignominious peace,  
 extorted from the Athenians by the dread of Ar-  
**Bef. Christ** taxerxes Ochus, successor on the throne of Persia  
 355. to his father Mnemon, who threatened to support  
 the islanders with a fleet of three hundred sail. The  
 conditions of the peace were, that the confeder-  
 ated states should for ever remain free and inde-  
 pendent. It is remarkable that Chares, to whom  
 the conduct of this war was principally entrusted,  
 was one of the worst men of his time, insolent,  
 vain, positive, treacherous, supplying the want of  
 abilities with boastful words, (so that *the promises*  
*of Chares* grew into a proverb) and courting pe-  
 culiar favour at the expence of truth and every  
 most valuable consideration. To the mismanage-  
 ment of this man it was owing, that the war had  
 such a dishonourable conclusion. Nevertheless he  
 escaped, and had even the influence to procure  
 the impeachment of his two brother generals,  
 Iphicrates and Timotheus (son to Conon) both  
 faithful and experienced officers, because they had  
 refused to join with him in rushing on the enemy  
 in a storm, and combating the elements. Timo-  
 theus, unable to pay his fine of an hundred ta-  
 lents, retired and died in exile at Chalcis. Iphi-  
 crates obtained his acquittal by an extraordinary  
 contrivance: he introduced a number of armed  
 men into the court, which so intimidated the  
 judges, that they pronounced in his favour. The  
 fact is a curious and strong proof of the distem-  
 pered state of Athens. Next followed the Pho-  
 cian or Sacred War, a war of much longer con-  
 tinuance, and far more pernicious in its conse-  
 quences.



THE Phocians had tilled a part of the sacred **BOOK** territory of Delphi. For this profanation being **VIII.** fined by the Amphictyonic council, instead of **Sect. 3.** submitting to the decree, they took up arms under a leader Philomelus, who had the temerity even to seize on the Delphic temple. With these impious states a similitude of interests connected both the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, who entered into alliance with them, the former, because they had been condemned by the Amphictyons for their perfidious invasion of the Theban citadel, and had refused to pay the mulct imposed on them; the latter, from jealousy of Thebes, which was at the head of the opposite confederacy, and together with the Locrians had undertaken to vindicate the rights of the god. A contempt of religion is one of the surest forerunners of public ruin; neither could any thing speak a people lost to all sense of good, and ripe for destruction, more incontestably, than this insolence of impiety towards a deity whom they pretended to venerate. Nevertheless, the Phocians obtained several considerable advantages; and though Philomelus fell in battle, the war was continued with unabated activity by his brother Onomarchus.

Bef. Christ  
356.

Bef. Christ  
355.

Bef. Christ  
352.

PHILIP beheld with pleasure the Grecians doing his work. Whilst they harassed and consumed each other, he was improving his strength, and extending his conquests. At this time he had been invited into Thessaly, to deliver the people of that country from the oppressive yoke of the tyrant Lycophron, brother and successor to Alexander of Phæræ; and Lycophron had solicited Onomarchus to assist him. With all his abilities and skill in war, Philip found himself at the first severely pressed by the Phocian general; and such a terror had possessed his men, that they refused

to

BOOK to march against the enemy. But strengthened VIII. by a reinforcement, and animating his soldiers Sect. 3. with hopes of victory, he brought them on to a second general engagement, in which Onomarchus was slain, his army totally defeated, and Lycophron by consequence obliged to flee out of Thessaly. Philip took the occasion to signalize his zeal for religion, by commanding the body of Onomarchus to be hung up, and the prisoners taken in the action to be thrown into the sea, as sacrilegious and accursed.

THE success of this business, and the reputation it acquired him, enlarged his views to that extent, that under pretence of attacking the Phocians in their own territory, he attempted to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylæ, *the key* (as he justly called it) *of Greece*. But here the Athenians took the alarm, and prevented him, instigated, it is generally believed, to this exertion by the lively remonstrances of Demosthenes. This great orator and statesman had distinguished himself before on other occasions; but he now exerted himself in a more extraordinary manner; and his bold, impetuous, forcible eloquence was particularly of use at this season.

Bef. Christ  
351.

THE classical reader knows, what were the excellencies peculiar to this, confessedly, the first of all public speakers:—strength of argument; sublimity of thought; a nervous manly style, enlivened with a variety of metaphors, apostrophes, interrogations; a wonderful vehemence of expression, calculated not to persuade only, but to overpower and force conviction on the hearer. And indeed superlative as his talents were, he had occasion for them all, to bear him through the various difficulties he was to combat. He was to combat the passions of a corrupted people, of a people

people sunk into a state of indolence, debauched by ease, and averse from martial toil. He was to combat the partisans and pensioners of Philip, some of the greatest orators of Greece, who appeared in avowed opposition to him. The very weakness of his country seemed to forbid vigorous measures. Even the laws were against him. The funds for the war, as we have mentioned, had been diverted to the support of the theatre, and it had been made death to propose the applying of that money to any other purpose: and yet the rich refused to bear the burden of taxes, whilst the public revenues were thus dissipated in furnishing entertainment to the inferior citizens. But in spite of all these discouragements, the thunder of Demosthenes' eloquence roused the genius of Athens, and more than once did the admirable schemes he pointed out to his fellow citizens prove the means of checking the progress of the enterprising Macedonian. He did not indeed preserve his country: her vicious manners, and the abilities of the prince she was to oppose, rendered it impossible. But he gave to Athens an activity and spirit, to which she had long been a stranger; he rendered her formidable even to Philip; and probably, had not such a prince as this been against her, he might at least have delayed her ruin. So that, far from wondering that he did not effect more, rather should we be surprised how he was able to accomplish so much. To his honour it is allowed, that Philip, who feared him more than any other person in Greece, made use of every art to win him over to his interest; but neither the dread of his power, nor the large bribes he offered him, availed any thing. This is the more extraordinary, because Demosthenes, as it appeared in other instances, was a  
coward,



BOOK coward, and fond of money: and yet at this time  
 VIII. his love of his country, and a sense of her dis-  
 Sect. 3. tresses, seemed to have exalted him above all the  
 little weaknesses to which his nature was subject.

PHILIP, not dejected by the failure of one enterprise out of many, marched northward from Thermopylæ, to pursue his military operations on the side of Thrace. After a career of conquest in those parts, he directed his course towards Olynthus. It was the most powerful state in the region of Chalcidice, and in the days of Amyntas had nearly effected the destruction of the house of Macedon. Hence it was, that Philip in the beginning of his reign courted the friendship of this republic: he was not at that period in a condition to contend with her. But now, encreased in strength, he avowed his design, and on his way sent the Olynthians this peremptory message, ‘ that either they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia.’ Such a menace from such a prince left the Olynthians no resource but in the assistance of Athens. Accordingly their ambassadors were dispatched thither, and found an earnest advocate in Demosthenes, who considered their cause as the cause of his country. And yet, through the misrepresentations of the other orators, neither seasonable nor sufficient succours were sent out; and when at length the Athenians, urged on by Demosthenes, resolved to exert themselves more effectually, the unfortunate city was already in the hands of Philip. His gold, it seems, had prevailed on some of the principal inhabitants to open their gates to him. These repeated successes alarmed the Athenians. Trembling for their possessions in Thrace and along the Hellespont, they hastened away their ambassadors into Macedon, to conclude a peace with this dangerous enemy.

PHILIP

PHILIP was too refined a politician to explain B o o k  
 himself immediately. About the same time he VIII.  
 had received an application, not less agreeable to Sect. 3.  
 him, from the Theban people. The Phocian war  
 still continued. Phayllus had been appointed ge-  
 neral in the room of his brother Onomarchus;  
 and he dying, Phalecus, a young man, the son of  
 Onomarchus, was placed at the head of the Pho-  
 cian army. These generals, Onomarchus and his  
 successors, had made free with the sacred treasury,  
 which Philomelus, in the novelty of impiety, had  
 not dared to violate: thus had they found ample  
 means to carry on the war in the riches and sump-  
 tuous offerings which the devotion of kings and  
 nations had deposited there, the plunder amounting  
 to above ten thousand talents. This overbalance  
 of wealth quite oppressed the Thebans. To coun-  
 teract it, they had recourse to the fatal expedient  
 of inviting Philip into Greece, to take vengeance  
 on the sacrilegious Phocians; losing in the desire  
 of gratifying their inveterate hatred the obvious  
 discovery, that they were forging their own  
 chains, and sacrificing the common happiness of  
 Greece.

THE Macedonian dissembled with the Athenians,  
 and artfully protracted his negotiation with their  
 ambassadors, till he was advanced into Theffaly.  
 There, on the point of passing the Thermopylæ,  
 he found it necessary to conclude the treaty with  
 Athens, and immediately after, entered Phocis,  
 before the Greeks had any certain knowledge of  
 his intentions. His very name and appearance  
 subdued the Phocians: they laid down their arms, Bef. Christ  
 and submitted to his mercy. Accordingly, he per- 346.  
 mitted Phalecus with eight thousand mercenaries  
 to retire into Peloponnesus; and the Phocian na-  
 tion he referred to the judgment of the Amphic-  
 tyonic

Book tyonic council, which he caused to be assembled  
 VIII. for that purpose. This seeming moderation was  
 Sect. 3. all artifice. The Amphictyons were under his influence, and the authority of their tribunal served only to give a sanction to his determinations. They decreed, 'that the cities of Phocis should be  
 ' demolished, the inhabitants dispersed in villages; that the Phocians should be obliged to  
 ' pay an annual tribute, till the whole of what  
 ' was taken out of the temple was restored; that  
 ' they should forfeit their seat in the Amphictyonic  
 ' council, and their right of suffrage be transferred  
 ' to the king of Macedon, the glorious vindicator of religion, and assertor of the public peace.' In this surprising manner, in the course of a few years, was Philip, from a poor distressed prince, who saw his territories invaded, and even his crown precarious, become the arbiter of Greece, modelling her councils at his pleasure.

For the present, however, he chose to let the apprehensions of the several Grecian states die away; and as if a zeal for religion had been his only motive for entering Greece, he returned into Macedonia, and engaged in war against the Illyrians. At the end of four years, he appeared a second time in Thrace, to invade the Chersonesus, where the Athenians had considerable establishments. Indeed, whatever semblance of peace there might be, hostilities had never ceased between Philip and the Athenians; Philip endeavouring to weaken and distress the Athenians, undermining their interest, debauching their allies, distressing their colonies; and the Athenians seeking Philip's destruction, upbraiding him with perfidy, soliciting his enemies to rise against him, and sometimes themselves invading and ravaging his territories, such as bordered on their settlements.



ments. The contest, however, had been far from equal. Philip was a prince active, vigilant, his own minister, his own general, disguising his schemes, connecting together the design and the execution, sparing neither expence nor toil, and sure of procuring by bribes what he could not command by arms. The Athenians, infirm of purpose, poor in treasure, depending on their orators, and of course distracted by opposition of counsel, were slow in deliberating, slower in executing; so that not unfrequently they were employed in considering of means for the security of a colony, when that colony was theirs no longer; or preparing to attack Philip in one quarter, when he was already gone off to another. Their officers also were sent abroad without either instructions or powers sufficient; and if they exceeded their orders, even to render some essential service to their country, impeachments, and generally disgrace and damage, awaited them at home.

His northern conquests Philip considered only as amusements: his eye was fixed unremittingly on Greece, and his scheme of empire was not to be perfected by any thing short of the final oppression of her liberties. The folly of the Grecians themselves soon presented him with the occasion he wished for. Thebes invited him again into Greece; and under shew of protecting Messenia and Argolis against the insults of Sparta, that state would have led him into the very heart of Peloponnesus. But the Athenians were too nearly affected by such an enterprise to submit tamely to it: they threatened to league with Sparta if he advanced, and obliged Philip to desist. The troubled state of Eubœa furnished him with a new pretence. He invaded that island, in order, as he alledged, to expel the tyrants that afflicted some

**B O O K** of its cities, and to restore the Eubœan liberties.

VIII. But neither on this occasion were the Athenians  
Sect. 3. deceived : they saw the tendency of his ambitious  
attempt, and opposed it vigorously.

Ref. Christ 341. THESE little checks induced Philip to change the  
plan of his operations ; for which end he retreated  
northward, resolving to distress the Athenians  
in those parts whence their supplies of corn were  
transmitted to them. He therefore sat down be-  
fore Perinthus, a strong town on the Propontis,  
firmly attached to the Athenians, which he invest-  
ed with an army of thirty thousand men, support-  
ed by a complete train of battering engines. The  
inhabitants made a resolute defence, their hopes  
being kept alive by the prospect of succour from  
their neighbours of Byzantium ; to cut off which  
Ref. Christ 340. supply, Philip divides his army into two parts ;  
with one half he marches against the Byzantines,  
while the other remained before Perinthus.

SUCH violent proceedings gave a general alarm  
both in Persia and in Greece. Ochus ordered his  
lieutenants to carry aid to the besieged cities ; and  
Ref. Christ 339. for the same purpose Phocion was sent out from  
Athens with a considerable force. The employ-  
ing of Phocion shewed the Athenians were in  
earnest. He was the ablest, indeed the only able,  
officer they had ; and besides, a man of unblem-  
ished virtue, whose integrity and sanctity of  
manners rendered him worthy of the happiest  
days that Athens had ever seen. Yet in his not-  
ions of policy he differed from Demosthenes. He  
would have had the Athenians make a friend of  
Philip, and submit on the best terms they could  
procure to what it was not in their power to pre-  
vent. The counsel of Demosthenes was certainly  
the nobler ; but it may reasonably be doubted,  
whether in these times, when the spirit of Athens

was

was no more, that of Phocion was not the more B o o k  
 eligible. The manner of speech which Phocion VIII.  
 adopted in public was observed to be remarkably Sect. 3.  
 close and concise, unadorned by any flowers of  
 oratory: *the pruner of his periods* was the name, by  
 which Demosthenes was wont to distinguish him.  
 It should not be forgotten, that although he en-  
 deavoured to dissuade the Athenians from running  
 inconsiderately to their ruin, by engaging in an  
 opposition to which they were no longer compe-  
 tent, yet in all the struggles of his republic against  
 the Macedonian progress, as far as he was employ-  
 ed, he approved himself a brave soldier and a  
 faithful patriot. The misfortune was, a man of  
 this character could have but little weight in a  
 state such as Athens was at present. Intrigue and  
 faction kept him at a distance from public affairs;  
 so that it was generally to the fears of his country,  
 or the distresses of her allies, that he owed the  
 commands with which he was invested. And yet  
 how much might have been done, even in these  
 dark tempestuous days, and shattered as was the  
 commonwealth, had the helm of government  
 been wholly confided to a man upright and capa-  
 ble, may be estimated from what Phocion now  
 effected. He restored confidence among the  
 allies; he obliged Philip to abandon the siege  
 both of Byzantium and Perinthus; he recovered  
 several places, which he had garrisoned; he ravag-  
 ed his dominions, he took his ships, and drove  
 him out of the Hellespont.

BUT in his own subtil arts, working on the ge-  
 neral depravity of Greece, the king of Macedon  
 found a sure resource against any occasional dis-  
 appointment. He expostulated with the Athe-  
 nians; he amused them with protestations of  
 good-will, and offers of peace. At the same time,



BOOK his emissaries were employed throughout all  
VIII. Greece to give a fair gloss to what he had done.

Sect. 3. There was not a state, nor a public council, in which he had not his pensioners, all of them devoted to his interests, and banded against their

Bef. Christ  
338. country. The fatal consequences of this deep-rooted corruption were not slow in discovering themselves. The charge of profanation, lately tried with success, was now adduced in the Amphictyonic council against the Locri Ozolæ for having broken up part of the lands of Crissa, menial lands (as we have said elsewhere) to the temple of Delphi. For this crime war was denounced against them, and the estates of Greece were called upon to arm in defence of the insulted god. The difficulty was, how to provide ways and means for the support of an armament, which, it was easy to see, must be expensive. And here Æschines the Athenian, seconded by some others of the Pylagoræ, secret agents of Philip, proposed to deliver Greece from the burden by inviting the king of Macedon to chastise the Locrians. When the consent of the council was notified to Philip, he found it difficult to dissemble his satisfaction. Immediately he began his march; and advancing into Phocis, as if he no longer remembered *the sacred cause* entrusted to him, he seizes on Elatea, a city on the Bœotian borders, conveniently situated either for awing Thebes, or opening to him a passage into Attica.

Bef. Christ  
337.

WHEN the news reached Athens, the whole city was presently in an uproar. The assembly met; but even the generals and orators looked amazed one on the other: there was neither strength nor counsel among them. At length, in the midst of the public trepidation, Demosthenes arose. He began with endeavouring to persuade them, 'that

' it was not yet impossible to make a stand against Book  
 ' Philip: the Thebans themselves might be easily VIII.  
 ' detached from his interests; for although many Sect. 3.  
 ' had been gained over by his presents, the major-  
 ' ity of that people were in their hearts inimical  
 ' to him inasmuch as whatever they might hi-  
 ' therto have been made to believe, they now  
 ' could not but see in him the invader of Greece,  
 ' and the oppressor of their country.' He advised  
 therefore ' a vigorous support of such of the The-  
 ' bans as were still friends to liberty; an oblivion  
 ' of all past animosities; and that embassadors  
 ' should be dispatched to Thebes, to encourage  
 ' the people, and offer them every kind of assist-  
 ' ance.' Lastly he proposed, ' that every Athe-  
 ' nian capable of military duty should march out,  
 ' in order to form a camp at Eleusis; and that  
 ' every state around should be called upon to lend  
 ' their aid in this critical emergency.' Salutary  
 resolutions, had the Athenians possessed the virtue  
 to make them good. Phocion doubted this; and  
 therefore he gave his sentence, that they should  
 rather submit to Philip. The Athenians assem-  
 bled their forces, and a league offensive and defen-  
 sive was concluded with the senate and people of  
 Thebes.

Philip, whose maxim it was, never to break  
 down a gate which he had not first tried to open,  
 made use of every means to dissuade Thebes from  
 declaring against him; in the pursuit of which ob-  
 ject, he employed Python, esteemed one of the  
 most eloquent speakers of his time, to plead his  
 cause before the Theban senate. But the argu-  
 ments of this man were idle weapons, when op-  
 posed to the invincible artillery of Demosthenes.  
 Roused to an extraordinary exertion by the two  
 powerful incentives of emulation and patriotism,  
 he

BOOK he so fired the Thebans, that no longer masters of  
 VIII. themselves, and blind to every consideration of  
 Sect. 5. danger, they gave their suffrages for war. Disappointed on the side of Thebes, the Macedonian sued to Athens for peace; but in vain: the Athenians were too much exasperated to listen to any terms of accommodation. He then had recourse to omens and menacing predictions; for the oracles also were under his guidance, and *philippized*, as Demosthenes expressed it: but neither were these effectual. The Athenians, under the command of Chares and Lyficles, having joined the Thebans, moved on towards Chæronea; and Philip, on the other side, determined to risk all, or be master of Greece, advanced to meet them. Such were the steps that led the Grecians to the fatal day of Chæronea, a day that for ever despoiled them of all those blessings they had so wantonly abused.

THE Macedonians were in number not far superior to the Greeks; in other respects they had infinitely the advantage. Hardy, well disciplined, flushed with victory, they followed a commander in whose wisdom they had reason to confide, whose affection they looked up to as that of a parent. On the side of the confederates were seen troops feebly united among themselves, the gleanings of those armies which the rage of civil discord had consumed, and part of them already subdued by the distresses of unsuccessful war; their generals rash, ignorant, possessing neither the good will nor the confidence of those that served under them. Nevertheless, with all these disadvantages against them, they charged resolutely. Resentment, despair, the dark prospect of what was to ensue on their defeat, impelled them on; and the Athenians even pushed forward as far as the Macedonian



cedonian center. But the inconsiderate Lyficles B o o k  
 having suffered his men to break, and engage in VIII.  
 wild pursuit, Philip, who was never more cool Sect. 3.  
 than on this decisive day, marked his opportunity,  
 and coming down on them when most in confu-  
 sion, obtained an easy and complete victory. It  
 is said that, when he saw the disorderly manner  
 of the enemy, he observed to those about him,  
 ‘ the Athenians know not how to conquer.’  
 Mean time, the Thebans likewise had been routed.  
 Whilst Philip was joining battle with the Athe-  
 nians, the young Alexander, who had the com-  
 mand of the left wing, had forced his way  
 through the Theban battalia, and having cut to  
 pieces the sacred band,\* where the bravest opposi-  
 tion was, he soon compelled the rest to flee before  
 him. This memorable battle was fought the  
 third year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad,  
 one hundred and forty three years after the glori-  
 ous action of Salamis.

THE behaviour of the king of Macedon to the  
 enemies, whom the fortune of war had now sub-  
 jected to his mercy, was different in proportion as  
 he deemed himself injured by them. Towards the  
 Thebans he was inexorable. They had renounc-  
 ed his friendship, they had deserted him in the  
 most critical conjuncture, they had broken through  
 all the ties of gratitude, and made light of the  
 many kindnesses he had conferred on them.  
 Hence were they made to feel the severity of his  
 indignation. He obliged them to pay ransom for  
 their prisoners, and even to purchase the permis-  
 sion of interring their dead. He set a garrison  
 over their city. He removed, either by the sword  
 or by banishment, the principal persons who had  
 stood against him. He recalled all such as were  
 in exile for espousing his interests, constituted  
 them

\* Of 300 chosen men, united by the ties of virtuous friendship  
 and sacred love.

**B o o k** them judges and magistrates, and gave them power  
**VIII.** of life and death over those who had driven them  
**Sect. 3.** from their country.

To the Athenians he shewed more lenity. At the first indeed, he was transported with his victory beyond measure : he insulted over the dead, and upbraided the prisoners with their misfortune, leaping and dancing on the field of battle, and singing with an air of mockery the preamble of the celebrated decree by which Demosthenes denounced war against him. But the keen observation of the orator Demades, who was in the number of the prisoners, wrought a change in his mind : ‘ Fortune,’ said he, ‘ Philip, hath assigned to thee the part of Agamemnon, and ‘ thou art acting that of Thersites.’ Philip was struck with the justness of the reproof ; so that, far from being offended with Demades, he commanded him to be set at liberty. From that time his deportment towards the Athenians was humane and generous. He freely released their captives, and renewed the peace with Athens. He affected modesty and compassion ; he would neither have festal sacrifices, nor crowns, nor sports ; seeming to forget, in the desire of softening the humiliation and distresses of the conquered, all the pride of the conqueror.

It may indeed furnish matter of enquiry, whether the generosity of Philip on this occasion might not in part be owing to his dread of the Athenian satire, combined with a desire of having his praises recorded by that elegant people. He certainly in several instances courted the good opinion of the Athenians ; and doubtless no man had more to fear from the edge of satire than he. For though brave, active, enterprising, though able in council, and formidable in arms, yet had he very few of those excellencies that denominate princes great  
and

and good. He had learned to imitate Epaminondas B 6 6 2  
 only in some of his military qualities; and how VIII.  
 ever he may be thought to come within sight of Sect. 3.  
 him as a *soldier*, yet as a *man* was he infinitely  
 behind him. His public life was stained with  
 violence and perfidiousness; his private was  
 black with the worst of crimes. And the success  
 he met with may justly be considered rather as a  
 chastisement and scourge to Greece for her dege-  
 neration, than as a recompence to him for his vir-  
 tues. He had the fortune afterwards to prevail Bef. Christ  
 with the Grecian states to elect him their com- 336.  
 mander in chief against the Persians. That em-  
 pire had long been nodding to ruin, and he pro-  
 mised to himself that he should with no great diffi-  
 culty effect its overthrow. But in the midst of  
 his most flattering expectations, he was cut off by  
 domestic treason, and left his throne and his pro- Bef. Christ  
 spects to Alexander his son, to whom history has 335.  
 falsely annexed the title of Great, as if martial  
 fury, and the wanton invasion of nations, were  
 the distinguishing excellence of princes. His ex-  
 ploits and fortunes we have reserved to another  
 volume.

As for the Grecians, after the battle of Chæro-  
 nea, every year seems to have added to their  
 meanness and abjectness, until what Philip had  
 begun, Alexander and his successors, and at last  
 wide-wasting Rome, completed. Some few men,  
 it is true, rose up at different periods, and sought  
 to vindicate their country from oppression. But  
 their efforts were unavailing. Greece no longer  
 had a spirit equal to the attempt, and the power  
 to be contended with was too considerable.

SUCH are the effects of upright and of dege-  
 nerate manners; the latter always ending in  
 weakness and servitude; the former productive  
of



**B o o k** of liberty, wealth, and empire. From the fortunes

**VIII.** of this celebrated people, their progress and their  
**Seç.** 3. period, the young reader may deduce with certainty this instructive lesson, that one law is imposed by the Supreme Ruler of the world both on nations and individuals, one only *road to happiness* is opened to the one and to the other, *the road of virtue.*

**END OF VOL. I.**

**APPENDIX.**

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## A P P E N D I X.

The following Dissertation *on the love of the marvellous so prevalent among the ancient Greeks* was intended by the Author of this history to be introduced into his first book. But as the Editor thought it too prolix for that place, and yet too curious to merit suppression, he is tempted to detain the reader's attention a little longer by laying it before him, as an episode, here,

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THE several ages of the Grecian people have been distinguished into three periods, times *unknown*, times *fabulous*, and times *historical*. Times *unknown* are supposed by Varro, by whom this distinction is said to have been first made, to be those only which preceded the great deluge, called by the Grecian fabulists the deluge of Ogyges, the same probably with that of Noah. But in fact the times *unknown* of the Greeks come down much lower than this, and extend to the first introduction of civility and the arts by colonies from Egypt. Until that period, whatever were the exploits of those early savages, they are lost in impenetrable night. The times *fabulous* may be dated from the arrival of the Egyptian strangers, and take in the whole intervening period

riod between their entrance into Greece and the age of Solon, when events were more faithfully recorded. During the latter part however of this period, the gloom of fable was clearing away; and instead of the poetical embellishments, with which every trivial adventure of the heroic days was wont to be set off, the sober style of prose began to be adopted. The prose-writer of history was not known in Greece, till about the days of Cyrus the great and Darius Hystaspis, that is, about 530 years before Christ, and 370 after the Trojan war. With the age in which Solon lived, commence what we may properly call the times *historical* of Greece. And yet even then, so deep a tint had the Grecian literature imbibed from ancient fable, that among some of the most respectable writers in the historical line the fabulist frequently disgraces the historian, and the love of the marvellous seems to have prevailed over the love of truth.

THE *fabulous* times of Greece present us with an assemblage of the most uncouth fictions that romance ever exhibited. The whole universe, in those days of fable, was crouded with gods, who had each of them their respective departments assigned to them; all which divine personages frequently made themselves visible to mortals, and mixed in familiar intercourse with human kind; avowed the same lustful and vindictive passions as man, in his most corrupt state, is liable to; and indulged in the same sensual gratifications, with all the lawless extravagance of savage life; and of course, whose amours, jealousies, contests, were productive of adventures as ludicrous as they were shameful, many of those gods in the pursuit of their intrigues often assuming the humiliating form of a beast, of a bird, an eagle, a swan, a ram, a bull, a horse.

THE



THE history of their kings was not less preposterous than that of their gods. Powerful states, Grecian fable pretended, had flourished in Greece during a length of ages, at a period, when the whole country must have been woodland, and the inhabitants little else than wild foresters. The kingdom of Argos had been founded by Phoroneus above 900 years before the Trojan war; and the kingdom of Ægialeum, or Sicyon, near 300 years earlier. And yet of the achievements, the laws, the arts of these boasted kingdoms not the least vestige remained; and a long list of the names of their supposed princes was all that had escaped the wreck of time. Even the rise of most of the other Grecian kingdoms, whose claim was of a more humble date, lay enveloped in darkness. The slaying of a serpent, and the sowing of its teeth in the earth, had produced the founders of one people. Ants changed into men had given beginning to another. One city ascribed its origin to a double-bodied prince. Another owed the fortifications with which it was encompassed to the power of music: obedient to the sounds of the lyre, the stones had moved, and ranged themselves into walls and battlements. Nor was this all. Greece on every side teemed with prodigies. And year after year, appeared some new monster, in whose extermination the prowess of a god, or of some hero the offspring of a god, was to be displayed: here a serpent with fifty heads, of which should one be cut off, two others sprang up in the stead of it: there a bull of fierceness untameable, from whose nostrils issued forth flames of fire: this pass was guarded by a lion, whose hide no weapon could pierce: that mountain was held by a dragon of enormous size, whose pestilential breath dealt death around to all who durst approach him. The lovely maiden, the blameless youth, were on a sudden

sudden transformed into some feathered songster, some tree, some flower, some herb. Doves were gifted with human voice, and announced to man the destinations of heaven. Even the beech of the forest, and the cavern of the earth, became vocal, and uttered oracles.

WHAT is most amazing, these monstrous legends, even the most impure of them, were received throughout the Grecian land with a holy reverence, and embraced with the most zealous credulity. Neither was the respect paid to them confined to those early ages, when the ignorance of a barbarous people might afford some plea; they became the groundwork, on which rose the religion of Greece and Rome in their ages of high improvement: these gods of fable were the gods, whose protection they implored in their day of calamity, and to whom in their season of triumph they offered their thanksgivings; their greatest artists were employed to record the several exploits which fiction had ascribed to them; they were the pride of their palaces, and the ornaments of their temples; and the more effectually to perpetuate the remembrance of them, sacred observances were instituted—in Greece, national games—in Rome, a number of august ceremonies and pompous celebrations.

IN what class then shall the historian place these legendary tales? Shall he number them all among the inventions of *fraud*? Shall he call them altogether the airy dreams of *superstition*?—Neither the one nor the other of these suppositions stands clear of difficulties.

THESE fables, the philosopher will remember, began in Greece with the first dawn of science: her history opens with them. Is it therefore to be thought, that the Grecian tribes, when just rising  
into

into civil life; possessed such creative powers, such a range of imagination, as to have given birth to all those visionary personages, and have adorned them with all those feats and adventures, which now fills the rolls of fiction? And is it not rather to be suspected, that *originally* many of those fabulous tales were the artless language of the rude Greeks, new to every kind of improvement, who from the strangers now mixing with them heard traditions which they could not comprehend, and saw manners they could not account for; who beheld every novel object with looks of amazement, and, in that animated style of amplification which wonder naturally dictates, honestly told what thoughts they were impressed with?

IN such circumstances, the fable-dressed description is the very description to be expected. What may probably have followed in the succeeding ages, when the temptations of pleasure, of power, of wealth began to operate, it is not difficult to see. Ambition, avarice, lust, revenge had here numberless opportunities of imposing whatever fabulous tale suited their several purposes on a people easy of belief, and apt to look for the marvellous. The Greeks saw *gods* every where; and therefore supernatural inventions they were as prone to believe, as imposture was ready to employ them. If a princess happened to be frail, it was Mercury, it was Apollo, it was Jupiter, who had offered her violence. If a kingdom was to be overthrown, some vow unperformed, some deity provoked, some sacrifice neglected, had prepared its ruin. Every uncommon occurrence was an omen from heaven: every adventurer, every founder of a hamlet, every inventor of any useful art, every person distinguished by any extraordinary ability of body or mind, was the son of a god.

To



To enter into an explication of the several fables which form the early part of the Grecian story, belongs not to the present plan. The attempt has already been often made. And the various plausible but unsatisfactory systems, in which the attempt has generally ended, though conducted with all the aids to be had either from genius or literature, sufficiently attest the obscurity in which this tract of ancient learning is involved.

It may however be of use to enquire, to what causes principally may be ascribed that *love of the marvellous* so predominant in the character of the Grecian people, which if it did not create, certainly gave encrease to those fabulous accounts, with which so considerable a portion of their annals is clouded over. Investigating these causes may perhaps open a way to the discovery of some ruins of sacred history and true religion, yet lying immersed, as is very probable, under that confused rubbish of ancient fictions.

VARIOUS are the causes, to which this romantic turn, so remarkable in the Grecian tribes, is to be imputed. It may be sufficient to trace those, which seem to have had the principal share in the forming of the national character.

I. From Egypt, the Grecian historians acknowledge, came the gods of Greece. And, in a certain sense, this appears to be true of all the ancient deities, the Phrygian Cybelè, or Great Mother, the Phœnician Astartè, the Syrian Thammuz, of the pagans. By going back therefore to this pregnant source of heathen fiction, we may be enabled to descry, what gave origin to several of the preposterous divinities with which Greece dishonoured her altars, and how it came to pass that so many legendary tales have darkened the early annals of that people.

THE

The wisdom of the Egyptians was in high estimation from remote time. In some few generations after the dispersion from the vale of Shinar, an extensive population had already taken place in the Egyptian land, civil establishments had been formed, and a respectable kingdom had grown up. The periodical swellings of the Nile had soon instructed the inhabitants in the utility of astronomical observations and the practice of geometry. From these primary arts various improvements followed. The revolutions of our planetary system, the orbit described by the sun in his yearly course, the rising and setting of the constellations visible in the Egyptian hemisphere, which in that climate present to the eye a splendor unknown to our regions, became objects of the public attention; and to point out to the husbandman the purposes to which this study of the heavens was to be applied, and to encourage and guide those rural labours with which the national prosperity was in an intimate manner connected, in Egypt were among the most important occupations of government. In order likewise to render more effectual the fertilization which their annual floods poured in upon them, means were found to heighten the inundation when too low, or to check it when exuberant: aqueducts, constructed with amazing industry, taught the waters to visit those plantations to which nature seemed to have refused them; and Egypt saw her fortunate plains crowned with all the treasures of the year. Mean while a number of cities, temples, palaces arose, and the towering summits of obelisks and pyramids met the eye on every side, some of which, though exposed through the long period of forty centuries to repeated insults from the hand of hostility, from curiosity, from avarice, from superstition, remain

to this day stupendous monuments of the wisdom and power of Egypt's princes, and of the ability and boldness of the Egyptian architect.

TOGETHER with these advantages of nature and art, the early inhabitants of Egypt could not but have possessed some memorials of the history, the corruption, and overthrow of the antediluvian world, and of the renovation of the human race by the mercy vouchsafed to Noah. In those other divisions of mankind, among whom ages of barbarity and brutal ignorance intervened, such memorials may be sought for in vain. Not so in Egypt. There, from Noah's days, an uninterrupted civilization obtained. Mizraim, Noah's grandson, the founder of the Egyptian people, must have seen the venerable restorer of human kind; and however he might have been involved in the guilt of his father, the impious Ham, he could not be a stranger to the late wonderful events; he must have beheld the Ark, an object doubtless often viewed with reverence by the immediate progeny of the persons that had been saved in it; and very probably he had heard from Noah's own lips the divine warnings with which he had been favoured, and to which he owed his preservation. The importance of the tradition was a pledge, that it would not be forgotten. Every father would naturally deliver the interesting narrative to his son, and the son with equal interest recount it to his children. And what must have impressed the more forcibly these sacred truths on the minds of the Egyptians, constant opportunities occurred of reviving the remembrance of them, by the intercourse they had with the patriarchal families of Abraham, of Jacob, of Joseph and his brethren, and of their posterity,



prosperity, during their abode in the land of Egypt.

BUT, with all these precious means of instruction in their power, the Egyptians did nevertheless after some generations sink into an idolatry, the grossest upon record in the annals of paganism. Not content with worshipping, after the manner of most idolatrous nations of early time, the host of heaven, scarcely was there a part of the creation which the Egyptians did not enroll among their gods, the beast of prey, the vile reptile, the herb of the field, the inanimate mass.

To the illiberal policy of the princes and priests of Egypt, between whom a strict connection of interests intervened, these debasing errors owed their beginning. Jealous of the neighbouring nations, and probably still more jealous of the bulk of the Egyptian people, they conceived the project of spreading a mysterious veil over whatever sacred traditions and valuable discoveries they were possessed of, and of establishing to themselves, for their own ambitious purposes, an exclusive property in them. Accordingly, an enigmatical language was adopted. And in this language the whole history of Egypt, whether religious, or civil, or natural, was to be recorded. Instead of characters of a determined and familiar signification, through which a general knowledge might have been conveyed, emblematical figures and an allegorical imagery, taken from the whole range of the created world, were employed. The sharp-eyed hawk was the emblem of the Supreme Intelligence, whose all-seeing providence rules the universe. The lion, from his rapid and violent nature, the wolf, from his fierceness and keen

fight, became types of the sun : the cat, from the sparkling of its eyes and its faculty of seeing in the dark, the symbol of the moon. The figure of the dog signified sagacity and faithfulness : that of the bull, rural industry. The beetle denoted a warrior : the winding wreaths of the serpent were types of the oblique motions of the heavenly luminaries : the grave owl, bird of night (the season of contemplation) was the emblem of wisdom ; the ibis, the Egyptian stork, of the faithful patriot ; the crocodile, of impudence, violence, cruelty.

NEITHER did the Egyptian mythologists confine themselves to such animals as the natural world presented them ; they invented creatures, the produce of their own imagination, many of them of shapes mingled and incongruous, concealing however under uncouth features abundance of useful knowledge. For example, the Sphinx, in its upper part a female, but with the body of a lion, indicated the season of the overflowing of the Nile, at what time the sun had its course through that portion of the heavens wherein, according to the astronomer, are the signs of the lion and the virgin. In like manner, on the body of an ape was sometimes placed the head of a dog, to signify uncommon cunning united with vigilance. And thus the fabulous Phoenix, destined never to know death, but continually to arise again from its own funeral pile with renewed life and a richer plumage, was the emblem of the soul's immortality ; a doctrine to which, from this very allegorical fiction, it is evident the Egyptians were not strangers.

EVEN things without life were taught to bear a part in this allegoric alphabet. A circle denoted eternity ;

eternity ; a sceptre, with an eye on the top of it, was the symbol of the divine omnipresence ; a sword, the type of a sanguinary tyrant.

IN a word, whatever by the most distant and even partial resemblance could suggest any idea of the great Creator of all ; or of any of those mental excellences which he has bestowed on humankind ; or of the course, revolutions, and supposed powers of the heavenly bodies ; or of the history and operations of nature in this lower world ; or could be the means of perpetuating the remembrance of any of the nobler exploits or guilty reigns of Egypt's kings, or of any signal events affecting the Egyptian fortune ; every thing of this kind found a place in these allegorical collections.

AND the more effectually to protect their symbolical records from the rash expoundings of the vulgar, these several figures were engraven in the vestibules and on the pillars and walls of their sacred edifices, and altogether entrusted to the custody and interpretation of the sacerdotal families, in which, by the Egyptian constitution, the priesthood descended from father to son with a care so scrupulous, that it would have been the highest profanation to admit to it any of alien race.

THE religious celebrations of Egypt were in the same style of allegory. They consisted chiefly of enigmatical pageants and symbolical representations, which seem to have had originally a signification very different from what the ignorance and superstition of succeeding ages have annexed to them. Among the principal allegoric personages exhibited in these solemnities, were Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. From ancient writers it appears,



appears \*, that Osiris and Isis were to Egypt the stated emblems of whatever is friendly and promotive of felicity to mankind ; and that, in opposition to these imagined patrons of human weal, Typhon was the type of misrule, and disaster, and destruction. It is however evident, that Osiris and Isis, in conformity with whatever was the particular purpose of each celebration, bore a different character, and accordingly were invested occasionally with different symbols. Sometimes Osiris represented the Supreme Lord of nature ; and as such, he was adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and with whatever symbols were supposed to indicate wisdom and goodness. Sometimes he was the Sun. Under this character, various were the emblems they arrayed him with : the most remarkable was his having, instead of a human head, the head of a hawk, and frequently that of a lion. In his solar character, he had also sometimes the title of Hercules, or rather, as the Phœnicians call him, *Harokel*, that mighty *voyager*, who in the execution of his appointed labours *goeth forth from the uttermost parts of the heaven, and runneth about unto the end of it.* Ps. 19. 4. To this idea of the sun the Hercules of Egypt, originally an allegorical personage, probably owes the place he occupies in Egyptian story. Sometimes Osiris was the emblem of fertility, derived to this lower world from the cherishing heat of the solar orb : he was then crowned with ivy, and had nearly the emblems appropriated by Greece in after time to her allegorical god of vintage. He was said to be the

\* Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir.

husband of Isis : as such, he was represented making her the object of his attention, and sharing with her in those benevolent dispensations to man in which she is supposed to be employed. In like manner, Isis was sometimes the Earth, the parent of vegetation, with ears of corn or a bushel on her head ; sometimes she had bull's horns, as the patroness of vegetation ; her body, as that of the general nurse of the animal world, was hung round with prominent breasts ; her hand supported the Egyptian sistrum or timbrel, expressive of the harmony prevailing in the government of the universe ; her brows were adorned with the lunar crescent, when she represented the Moon ; and when she was made the emblem of divine wisdom, whose depth is not to be scanned by mortal eye, she was figured under the integuments of a veil.

BUT of all the religious celebrations in which this allegorical personage made her appearance, the most worthy of notice was the anniversary of the Lamentations of Isis. On this occasion, the symbolical deity wore the garb of sorrow, appearing to mourn some calamity which in a remote period had visited Egypt. Every Egyptian was required to join in the Lamentations, said to be on account of the death of Osiris, whose body Isis had sought for with anxious but fruitless diligence, after he had fallen a victim to the violence of the wicked Typhon. To these effusions of woe the four first days of the solemnity were sacred : they were then succeeded by the most extravagant exultations ; *Osiris was found ! Osiris was restored to life !* and the festival closed with a general rejoicing throughout Egypt.

THE antiquarian has endeavoured to trace the rise of this superstitious observance in the annals of Egypt. Osiris, it has been pretended, was one of the most illustrious of Egypt's kings, who after a reign of much glory, and many noble achievements for the happiness of mankind, perished at last by the secret treachery of his brother Typhon, and his murder was discovered and revenged by his faithful queen Isis. But, not to mention other objections, in this ancient celebration we find a number of mysterious rites, of which the fact here stated affords no solution.

FROM the allegorical repositories of the ancient Egyptians we possibly may obtain better information. Isis, among the other symbolical characters she sustained, was the Earth; Osiris the Sun; and Typhon was avowedly the emblem of barrenness and devastation, and seems in particular to have been considered by the Egyptians as the author of that kind of mischief which irruptions of the *sea* may occasion. If there ever was a time therefore, when by the *breaking up of the fountains of the great deep* our earth was laid in ruins; when the sun, by the intervention of heavy exhalations arising from this mass of waters, had no longer the power of exercising his genial influence on the terrestrial globe; and that principle of light, heat, and fertility was thereby lost to this nether world; in such an event might the interpretation of this ancient Egyptian tale not improbably be found. Now such an event do our holy records, in the history of the universal Deluge, actually present us with.



To the plausibility of this conjecture the voice of all Egypt from remote ages seems to bear witness. The sea was by the ancient Egyptians expressly called Typhon. The foam of the ocean had the same appellation. The *monster of the waters*, said the people of Hermopolis, was the foe that slew Osiris. And so deep an impression did these untraced, and therefore ill-understood, memorials leave on the Egyptian mind, that for many ages the sea was an abomination to the Egyptians, without their attempting to assign the cause. A fish was their stated emblem of hatred. Sea-salt, which they called the froth of Typhon, was prohibited to their priests. And such an abhorrence of the sea were the Egyptians possessed with, that not only were they utterly averse from the occupation of the mariner, but to have had so much as a casual intercourse with a sea-faring man the priests would have accounted a defilement. To cut off all communication with persons employed in the maritime life, even the ships of other nations were not permitted to enter the ports of Egypt, that of Naucratis \* only excepted : and whenever a vessel by stress of weather was driven upon any other part of the coast, the master was required to make oath of the urgent necessity, and without delay to set sail for the port assigned by law.

If we cast our eyes on the map of Egypt, and consider, that to no country nature has offered more important commercial advantages ; if we reflect, that she had the command of the Mediterranean, the command of the Arabic gulph ; that

\* Herod. Euterpe.

the wealth of her Tyrian neighbours arose from that very trade which she cast from her; and that under the Ptolemies, when other maxims were adopted, commerce gave to Egypt those immense treasures, which in after ages made even imperial Rome behold the Egyptian opulence with envy—such a settled abhorrence of the sea, in opposition to so many powerful pleadings both of convenience and interest, naturally suggests the belief, that there must have been from early days some strong prejudice on the minds of this people, some latent cause, that dictated an aversion so extraordinary.

WHAT strengthens the suspicion, that under these enigmatical observances the universal deluge was commemorated by the Egyptians, is a circumstance recorded by historians to have taken place in all the solemnities, wherein the personage of Isis had any share. The goddess was exhibited to view, seated in a carriage resembling a ship \*. Now whence this pageant? What could be the signification of a naval emblem to a people abhorring navigation, unless that symbolic figure was a memorial of the Ark, to which the human race owed their restoration?

\* This ancient memorial appears to have been in use among other nations, and wherever it was found, to have been of an origin obscure and mysterious. Tacitus (Germ. c. 9.) mentions it as one of the principal objects of the religion of some of the tribes of the Suevi: nor will this inquisitive historian pretend to account for it. *Pa s Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem.* An inference, that does not seem to follow of necessity. See on this subject *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. 7.* and Bryant's *Mythol.*

THE same arts, which spread this enigmatical covering over the history of the deluge, appear to have been employed in disguising also whatever other traditions had come down to them from the primeval times : such were, the state of our first parents in the innocence of paradise, the fall of the rebellious angels, the profligacy and daring deeds of the nations preceding the flood. Of these venerable traditions it was scarcely possible that the first Egyptian mythologists should have been altogether ignorant. But transformed by the embellishments of allegory, the facts themselves assumed a new appearance, and in a manner disclaimed their origin. Hence the golden age of humankind, fondly sung by the poets of paganism, but realized only in the bowers of Eden. Hence the attempt of the giants to scale the heavens. Hence perhaps the cup of Circe. And hence, it may be, even the horrid banquets of Lycaon, of Tantalus, together with the signal vengeance which their impiety provoked.

BUT however ingenious many of these enigmatical coverings may have been, or whatever wisdom may oftentimes have been couched under them, they certainly ruined the religion of Egypt. Accustomed from their infancy to behold with awful reverence the sculptures that adorned their temple walls, and forbidden to enquire into their meaning, the Egyptians were easily induced to suppose, there must be somewhat of a divine nature in the animals whose representations the public piety had thus consecrated. Under this impression, scarcely was there a part of the brute creation, from the fierce monarch of the forest to the reptile that licks the dust, of which the Egyptian did not become the abject worshipper. To have slain



slain even by chance one of those sacred animals, had been more highly criminal than to have plunged the dagger into the breast of a fellow citizen ; the incensed populace would have risen instantly to punish the impiety ; as we learn from testimony they were always ready to rise, the one against the other, in vindication of their several objects of worship.

IF the holy sculptures misled the people of Egypt, the allegorical personages they were accustomed to produce in their religious pomps misled them more. They wanted knowledge to discern, what part of nature each typical figure there exhibited was meant to personate, or to what ancient event it might be an allusion, or what was to be understood by the various emblems with which the several personages were arrayed. Hence they credulously realized what was only allegory, and in every pageant saw a god.

SUCCESSING ages rendered by adulation the unfolding of these mysteries a task of greater difficulty. Along with the more important incidents of sacred and natural history, their political story was also blended. Thus under the character of Osiris, of the celestial Hercules, of mother Isis, the kings and queens of Egypt were frequently introduced into their festal processions : new emblems were superadded to those that used to distinguish the allegorical divinity, to mark the exploits and the fortunes of their several princes : and allusions were made to events, which ceased to be understood as soon as the memory itself was lost of the facts to which they pointed.

THE ignorance of the priests completed the confusion. The priests of early Egypt, however chargeable with a dark incommunicative reserved-

ness in relation to the multitude, were men of deep enquiry, disciples of science. The history of the ancient world, of the heavens, of nature, as far as known in that infancy of the world, they knew. The hieroglyphics and allegories of Egypt were particularly their invention: in these characters they registered whatever discoveries they had obtained, and must therefore have understood well a language of which they were the framers. After some ages, a different succession of priests arose. Whatever was the cause, whether the violences of an arbitrary government, or the general corruption of manners with which Egypt seems to have been overspread, those liberal occupations, in ancient days the pride of the sacerdotal sages of Sais, of Heliopolis, of Memphis, were laid aside. The Egyptian temples were no longer the abode of contemplation. Till at length, these boasted repositories of wisdom fell into contempt, and the holy records became unintelligible to the priests themselves.

AT the time when the first Egyptian colonists entered Greece, the wisdom of Egypt still retained a considerable portion of its original purity. The several excellent institutions introduced by Cecrops (who with good reason is supposed to have been of the sacerdotal order of Egypt) his law of marriage, his rites of interment, and especially his erecting an altar to the Ruler of the Universe under the title of the Most High, and appointing the manner in which he should be honoured, afford abundant evidence, that this sage founder of the Athenian state had a religion far above the superstitious absurdities which in some generations after were adopted by Egypt. However, together with these Egyptian strangers, the language

language of allegory got entrance into Greece. It was the first kind of learning Greece was made acquainted with. From the Egyptian colonists the Greeks might doubtless have received notices of what had happened in the antediluvian ages, of the various discoveries made in the works of nature, of the progress of human arts among the more civilized nations: but then these informations were conveyed to them under the uninformative disguise of some enigmatical fable, or disfigured by supernatural incidents, the tales of artifice, and oftener perhaps of ignorance. Had any extraordinary feat of strength or activity been wrought? The champion, who had achieved it, had an hundred hands, or had cut his way through the air by the help of wings with which some heavenly protector had furnished him. A head set round with eyes was employed to express unwearied vigilance. If a prince excelled in subtilty, he was said to be in part shaped like a serpent. If any brute inmate of the forest was uncommonly fierce, his feet were of brass, and his nostrils exhaled devouring flames. On the minds of a people just emerging from savage life, and disposed to listen to every tale of wonder with an eagerness proportioned to its incredibility, it is easy to imagine what an impression these fictions must have made: every allegory became to them a fact, every embellishment a reality. Thus the Sphinx, in Egypt the mere work of the sculptor, in Greece was a living monster, of whose parentage and fell deeds the Grecian fabulist spoke largely. And thus the Phoenix, that ingenious emblem to which the inventive fancy of some Egyptian sage had given birth, by the simple Greeks was made really to exist; and so low down as the  
days



days of Herodotus\*, we find the historian gravely describing the form and rich plumage of a miraculous bird, which no region of the earth has ever seen.

THE history of the natural world, recited in the like figurative style, assumed the same romantic appearance. The sun was a mighty potentate : our earth, or sometimes the moon, was his consort. Every celestial luminary, every work of the creation included within the cognizance of those early times, had the Egyptian fables, as we have observed, transformed in like manner into personages, under the mysterious story of whose fortunes they were wont to describe what were supposed to be the revolutions, the powers, and properties of such parts of nature as they had knowledge of. Habituated therefore from infancy to this fantastic imagery, of whose real meaning they were ignorant, the Egyptian colonists were but too apt to imagine, that from every object which they beheld some ideal being was starting forth ; and what the Egyptian said he saw, the Greek, new and amazed, imagined he saw also.

GREECE even exceeded Egypt in the multitude of her gods. Among the ruins of true religion, to be traced by an attentive eye through many parts of that rubbish the Egyptian idolatries present us with, appear manifest vestiges of one important truth, that "there exists One supreme, "infinitely perfect, Creator and Governor of all." Of this Unity of the Godhead the Egyptians, from the history of their own Osiris, seem to have been well apprised. Osiris, who bore indifferently at times this character and that of Isis, was

\* Herod. Euterpe. See Tacit. Ann. 6, 28.

to the Egyptians a kind of universal god : he was made to represent the solar orb, to represent various parts of nature, to represent the several divine attributes of which the Egyptians had any conception, the infinite power, wisdom, goodness of the Supreme Being. And suitably to whatsoever part this allegorical being was to sustain, or whatever act or attribute of the Almighty he was to typify, he was adorned with corresponding symbols, and as the occasional solemnity required, wore the appearance now of some object in heaven, again of some object upon earth. This perplexity of mysteries was more than the rude Greeks were able to comprehend. What the Egyptians ascribed to one, they ascribed to many, to every quality of the divine nature assigning a distinct god. Thus to Jupiter they apportioned power ; to Minerva wisdom ; the distributions of justice to Astræa, to Nemesis, to the Eumenides ; the bounty of Providence in bestowing vegetation and fertility on the earth was attributed to the allegorical goddess of harvests, to the god of vintage, and to those numerous rural deities whom it was the practice of Greece to produce in her religious festivals : Juno was the sovereign of the aerial regions, Diana of the forests ; Venus, the queen of beauty, presided over the encrease of the animal creation ; Apollo, god of light, took charge also of health, poetry, music, prophecy. So that superstition had here a much wider range than it ever had even in Egypt ; and, in addition to the Egyptian fables, from this multiplicity of gods arose a multiplicity of new fictions, uncouth mixtures of Egyptian wisdom and Grecian ignorance. Of this class are many of the legendary labours of the Grecian Hercules, the birth of Minerva, and that strange monument

monument of pagan absurdity, the birth of Venus.

II. As the improvements of society advanced, the Greeks, instead of obtaining thereby a better informed judgment, had their imagination distempered more strongly than ever by the illusive scenery which the religion of Egypt displayed to them. The Egyptians taught the Greeks agriculture: And as might naturally have been expected, the grateful commemoration of so important a blessing held ever a high rank among the religious solemnities of the Grecian people. But unhappily this holy institution proceeded on the Egyptian plan. Instructed by the example of Egypt, the Greeks made enigmatical figures the principal ornaments of the sacred pomp; and agriculture and its several attendant arts were accordingly all introduced into their festive shews under the form of allegorical personages, whose true meaning being revealed only to the priests and their favourite votaries, to the ignorant multitude these splendid but ensnaring representations seemed real gods, and as in Egypt, so in Greece, they became the great objects of the national piety.

III. THE mysteries of Egypt had certainly a principal share in establishing the empire of idolatry throughout the pagan world: very probably to them idol-worship owed its rise; and what history tells us of the lamentations of the Syrian women for the death whether of Thammuz or Adonis\*, that favourite celebration of the Asiatic

\* Bryant Mythol. II. 186.



nations—the mournings of the Phrygian Damater, or Mother-Earth, for her beloved Attis—the travels and exploits of the Egyptian Bacchus through the universe, and the veneration paid to the name of that allegorical conqueror by the tribes of Indostan to the days of Alexander—seem to have been all originally transcripts from the Egyptian mythology. But with the people we speak of, it was not merely in their religious solemnities that the spirit of allegory shewed itself: it took entire possession of the Grecian mind. Not only it gave a religion to Greece; it gave to her language that glow of animation, of which in her brighter days her poets, orators, and even historians have so happily availed themselves; it modelled her early annals; it invested with dignity her boasted heroes, the founders of her several states; and to all the most trivial achievements of her early days it communicated an importance, which posterity has, perhaps too implicitly, admired.

IV. THERE appears to have been moreover something in the Grecian character, congenial with that spirit of romance introduced from Egypt. The natives of Greece have from early time been in possession of a certain sprightliness of imagination, to which their climate has been thought by many to have contributed largely, and of which, the modern traveller tells us, not all the oppressions of a despotism of two thousand years have been able entirely to despoil them. And it was to the imagination principally, that the language of allegory addressed itself. It was (to use the words of a late ingenious writer\*) a

\* Enquiry into the life, &c. of Homer, p. 169.

*system of natural similies.* It called forth the fancy. It gave person to every object. It shewed all nature enlivened and in action. It bestowed voice and motion on the inanimate rock, and sentiment on the tiger of the desert. In every thicket it saw a dryad; in every river it found a god.

ACCORDINGLY, in the construction of the Grecian mythology, all the creative powers of the imagination seem to have exerted their utmost vigour. At early dawn, it was a band of blooming virgins, *the hours*, said the Grecian religionist, that threw open the palace of light, and prepared the golden car for the purple-robed goddess of the morning. The sun arose. The effulgent orb was the seat of a god, governed by whose powerful hand his fiery coursers performed their appointed journey through the heavens. He was succeeded by the moon. Here again, the pale empress of the night had her chariot of silver, and as she rode along, the shades of darkness vanished before her. Every planet, every star, had in like manner his peculiar divinity, whose guidance he obeyed. Even the rainbow was the vehicle of a deity, the official messenger from the gods above to the inhabitants of the earth; whenever the goddess descended, the bright radiance announced her sacred presence. Nor were the great luminaries and resplendent appearances, which the heavens exhibit, the only parts of the creation on which divine honours were conferred. All nature, air, fire, water, earth, every object, every incident of life, the operations and qualities of the human mind, our hopes and fears, even our sensual passions, were made to assume personages, and were exalted into divinities. Whether the Grecian ranged the mountain or traversed the glade, every where

he met with some local deity, at every river, spring, and brook : if the responsive echo from a neighbouring hill struck his ears, if the breeze whistled through the grove, or the howling tempest shook the forest, still it was the voice of some superior being, in whose protection he had confidence, or whose dreaded wrath made him tremble.

A HISTORY compiled under impressions such as these, could not but be strongly marked with the credulity of the compiler. The foe, whom the eye of sober reason would have beheld with contempt, became a formidable giant. The novel sight, scarcely a moment's wonder to a knowing age, grew into a prodigy. It had been deemed a dishonour to the hero whose name was to be recorded, had his exploits been destitute of the embellishments which those times of superstition were in the use of bestowing on their favourite chieftains.

V. THE state of the country likewise, when the first colonists entered Greece, was of a nature to encourage these fancies. It was for the most part covered with forests, the growth of ages, whose gloomy aspect to an uninstructed peasantry was a constant exciter of awful suggestions. Where the land was not occupied by wood, a richly diversified scenery met the eye, abounding in delightful landscapes, enchanting prospects, and those several beauties which such a lovely region as Greece, even with no ornaments but those of nature, may be supposed capable of exhibiting : in all which the animated imagination of the untaught rustic might easily trace vestiges of some residing divinities. On every side arose a variety of hills and mountains,



mountains, whose grotesque shapes and sportive echoes afforded full employment to a susceptible mind ; or whose majestic summits, enriched with all the radiance of the rising or departing day, or the softer glories of the luminary of the night, the habitation doubtless, said superstition, of superior intelligences, impressed a sacred horror. In one part, the distant sea, whose swelling surges indicated some mighty ruler, opened to the view. In another, a sudden torrent, bursting forth from the midst of the rocks, seemed to obey some invisible agent, and at his bidding to pour his foamy cascades down the precipice. Here was a grotto, which appeared to have been scooped by the hand of an immortal. And there yawned a cavern, the imaged abode of the guardian genius of the vale.

VI. WHAT rendered these impressions the more effectual, was the mode of occupation of the primitive Greeks for some generations after the Egyptians had come among them. Their habits of life were habits of adventure and impetuous enterprise, which incessantly presented a succession of new objects to the passions, exercised and strengthened the imagination, and gave a certain enthusiasm to the mind. They were all hunters and warriors, engaged in the rapid pursuits of the chase, or in tumultuary exploits of arms for the invasion or the defence of some infant hamlet. Among the Attic tribes, cultivation and civil arrangement began to be known from the days of Cecrops. But it was not until the days of Erechtheus, that husbandry and the arts of peace had made any considerable progress, even in Attica. Whilst the rest of Greece had scarcely any other employment

ment than the sports of the forest, or the executing or revenging some deed of savage prowess.

VII. To the enigmatical language of the Egyptian colonists Greece seems also to have been indebted for that strange variety of transformations recorded in the Grecian legend, with which the sportive Ovid has adorned his romantic verse. In Egypt, as we have observed, every slightest resemblance was sufficient to furnish an emblem. The verdant tree, the fragrant shrub, the gay flower, were symbols of the bloom of youth and the charms of beauty. The laborious insect, the spider, the ant, the bee, were types of industry. Hostile rage was depicted by a bird of prey; sanguinary fierceness by the prowler of the forest. What in Egypt was only allusion, the Greek understood literally. To him the industrious Arachné was transformed into a real spider; the Arcadian tyrant, guilty of the barbarous rite of human victims, into a wolf; the vindictive Nisus into a hawk. One fair maiden became a laurel; another was changed into a poplar. Narcissus was turned into a daffodil; Hyacinthus into a violet.

VIII. To the abstruse mythology of the Egyptians succeeded the more liberal instruction of the eastern nations. About eighty years after the arrival of the Egyptian strangers, certain bands of Idumæans, more generally known by the name of Phœnicians\*, landed in Greece, and established themselves in that distant part of the country to the

\* Their country *Phœnicia*, and the *Red Sea*, whose shores they inhabited, are supposed to have had their names from translating literally the name of *Edom* (or *Esau*) the *red man*, the father of this nation.

north-east of the Corinthian isthmus which is washed by the Iſmenus, in after time the royal seat of the Theban tribe. The history of the fortunes of these Phœnician colonists, like that of most of the early peoplers, is darkened by a multitude of fables. Of their language we have more authentic accounts. From respectable monuments it appears, that among the inhabitants of Idumæa, of Palestine, and the neighbouring Arabia, the lettered arts had been cultivated from early time; that instead of the difficult and equivocal hieroglyphics of Egypt, these Asiatics employed characters of a known and determined signification; that these characters the Phœnician colonists brought with them into Greece; and that, instructed by them, the Greeks thence gradually formed that language, whose happy texture, harmonious sweetness, rich variety, and energy of expression have rendered it the delight of the most improved nations, and which, by the many immortal works and splendid achievements it has been employed to record, has had so considerable a share in advancing the glory of the Grecian people.

AFTER the most elaborate researches it has accordingly been found, that the primary sixteen letters, of which the ancient Greek alphabet was composed, bear a near resemblance to the Phœnician, Arabic, and Hebrew characters, the languages of which several nations appear to have been originally kindred dialects, how different soever they may have grown by tract of time.

THE eastern literature however was not of that complexion, to restrain the flights of fancy which the sprightly Greeks had been accustomed to indulge. The language of the Orientals was bold  
and



and figurative; it abounded in metaphor; it loved amplification. Not only every high degree of mental excellence, but even whatever inanimate objects were remarkably great or beautiful, became to them indications of the divinity. The virtuous and wise were sons of God. The flourishing land was the garden of God. The lofty mountain was the mountain of God. In addition to this—with them, as well as with the Egyptians, there was a general personification of the whole created world. In the oriental style, the heavens, the orbs of light, the sea, earth, hills and forests, the very chambers of death \* were made to *hear*, were made to *speak*, were called upon to *bear witness*, were invited to *break forth into singing*, to join in the national joy, or partake of the public sorrow. This enlivened language soothed every fondest prepossession of the visionary Greeks; it roused their imagination, it flattered their vanity, it gratified their superstition. These ideal beings became to them real divinities, of whose presence they were not less assured, than they were confident of their protection; and every incident that befel them assumed the importance of a divine interposition. A lovely maiden, cut off in the bloom of youth, was carried away by the god of the invisible world enamoured of her charms. A plague raged—the arrows of some deity were shot forth. A youth gave proof of a happy genius and passion for science—he was the darling of Apollo; and whatever were his fortunes, the god had an immediate concern in them.

IX. It happened also, that as the Grecian literature was formed on the Phœnician language, the

\* Isaiah c. 14. v. 9.

Greeks often availed themselves of the equivocal meaning of many Phœnician words, and fondly moulded a trivial incident into a miraculous adventure. Thus, because the Phœnician mariners had given to the stormy Lipara and the other Volcanic islands in the Sicilian sea the name of *Aiolin*, from *Aiol* which in their language signified a *whirlwind*, the Grecian fabulist created from thence a divine personage, an *Æolus*, to whom the sovereignty was committed over storms and over this region of storms. And thus probably, in the history of the Idumæan settlement in Bœotia, because the same Phœnician term may signify either a *bearded javelin* or the *teeth of a serpent*, and the word denoting *armed* may also be rendered *five*, the Greeks conjured up the *five* companions of Cadmus from a *serpent's teeth*, when they ought rather to have said, that he *armed* his soldiers with *bearded javelins*.\*

X. THE use of Apologues, familiar at all times to the eastern tribes, and introduced with these Phœnicians, contributed to falsify the early story of Greece. Apologues were of two kinds; those in which the brute or inanimate creation were the orators, having language and sentiment ascribed to them, such as the fables of *Æsop* and the Persian *Lokman*; and those that related tales of the gods, or the principal characters, real or fabulous, of the heroic ages, under which was couched some lively or instructive moral. Of this latter kind are many to be found in the history of the infancy of Greece. Such was the

\* Bochart Chron. I. 19. et passim. Bryant Mythol. book 3. p.

tale of Prometheus, with his fire from heaven, and his man of clay; the tale of Phaeton and the chariot of the sun; of Ixion and the cloud; of Bellerophon attempting to ascend to the skies; of Paris and the golden apple. Such was Prodicus's ingenious apologue of the Choice of Hercules; and such the story of the pride and punishment of the ill-fated Niobe.

AND this kind of apologue was threefold: for either the persons introduced were purely imaginary, as seems to have been the case of Prometheus and Phaeton; or they were persons like Bellerophon and Niobe, who had really existed, but the propriety of character was not observed in the stories related of them; or lastly, the apologue faithfully represented the cast of mind by which they were distinguished, as in the case of Paris and the Theban Hercules.

Now there is reason to believe, that the Grecian writers, not attending to the nature and design of those early Apologues, have given to many of them very improperly a place in history, and thus have written gravely of personages that never existed, and have ascribed to others adventures for which there was not a sufficient foundation.

XI. ANOTHER consequence followed from the introduction of the Oriental learning among the Greeks. Their first historic writers composed in the style of poetry; and poetry delights in amplification. Thus the river Styx, whose waters were of a morbid quality, was the river of death, and had its course through the regions of the infernal world. Thus the cavern, too deep for an unexperienced peasantry to explore, was the way down to the realms below. And thus every feat  
in



in which their heroes were employed was the encountering of some ravager of horrid form, some fiery dragon, some many-headed monster. If a chief returned victorious, and the fame of his exploits struck terror into his enemies, his shield was cloathed with horrors, and they were changed into stone at the sight of it. The attempt of the rebellious Titans, who rose against Asterius of Crete, was a war of the giants against the gods; and the weapons he made use of to destroy them were changed into the thunderbolts of Jupiter.

XII. FROM that multiplicity of fictitious beings to which Egyptian allegory and the figurative language of the Orientals had given birth, the Grecian poet had also an opportunity of rendering his compositions the more animated. And he availed himself of it. Thus in poetic story, the circumstances of a country, its rivers, woods, winds, seasons are made to sustain a character, and are brought into action. The very transactions of the heart, invested with forms, take the place of real personages. If a prince permits reflection to moderate his wrath, it is the goddess of wisdom that holds his arm.\* If another indulges a loose passion, it is the goddess of love whose summons he obeys.† This is the foundation of that propriety, which, say the critics, the great Homer has observed in the marshalling of his gods. With a view of doing honour to his country, he represents all the deities of conjugal faith, wisdom, intrepid courage, as attached to the cause of Greece; whilst Venus, the tempter to soft dalliance, and Mars, the inspirer of brutal

\* Iliad. 1. 184.

† Iliad. 3. 383.

fury, declare for Troy. The Trojans had a number of forests, serving them as places both of ambuscade and retreat; and accordingly the woodland deities protect the Trojans. The strength and supplies of the Greeks being from their fleets, the gods of the sea are in close confederacy with the Grecian forces.

THUS the history of these gods of fiction was interwoven into the story of Greece; and the people, whose delight it was to get by heart and sing at their festive meetings whatever poetic tales related to the one, were at the same time possessed with the strongest habits of belief and reverence for the other.

**XIII.** WHAT contributed to give a sanction to these fabulous deities was the family-pride of the ancient Greek chieftains. Of an obscure origin, most of them soldiers of fortune, or bold adventurers, outcasts perhaps from foreign lands, they sought to ennoble their extraction by enrolling gods among their progenitors, and rather than not lengthen out their genealogy, they affected to trace it through the records of fiction. Every princely house of Greece boasted accordingly some deity for its founder. Cities produced the like claims of ambition and vanity; and scarcely was there a principality in all Greece, in the framing of whose original establishment some god, or hero the son of a god, had not been employed.

IN that uncivilized state of manners also which belonged to the first ages, the chastity of the women had oftentimes but a feeble protection; and the dishonoured damsel generally endeavoured to cover her reproach by pleading the solicitations,  
if

if not the violence, of some celestial lover. The popular credulity conspired with the vanity of individuals in adopting the monstrous legend.

THUS the most illustrious of the states and families of Greece had an interest in supporting some of the most absurd tales that ignorance or fraud ever invented; and to have questioned the fabulous history of the gods of that country had in many cases been an insult to her princes.

XIV. To the illusions of her infancy the manly age (so to speak) of Greece, instead of a check, imparted stability. As the genius of the people matured, when the pencil and chissel began to shew what wonders they were able to execute, those fabulous ornaments, hitherto the exclusive property of the poets, and known only to the learned few, were thrown open to general inspection. What had been the creature of fancy, now assumed a visible shape. The Jupiter of Homer became the Jupiter of Phidias. And by degrees, not an imaginary personage or romantic adventure had been sung by ancient bard, which the expressive colouring or plastic hand of some artist did not attempt to bring into life. Hence the several fables occurring in the history of a Perseus, a Danae, a Tantalus, a Leda, obtained a settled establishment. Whilst the captivated spectator dwelt with rapture on the exquisite imagery, the impression sunk deep into the mind: the life-emulating picture, the animated statue, grew into *witnesses* before the undiscerning, and therefore credulous multitude; and not a doubt remained of the reality of the hero, whom they saw present, in a manner, to their senses.

XV. If



XV. If the truth of history suffered from the imitative arts, religion felt their influence still more fatally. Of the allegorical beings which the statuary and painter expressed after the poet, many became the gods of Greece: magnificent structures were erected for their reception; sumptuous feasts were appointed to celebrate their pretended achievements; and all the powers of art, arrived at its utmost summit, were employed to exhibit the forms of these ideal divinities under a shew of majesty and of beauty calculated to impress the beholders with the profoundest veneration for the objects of their worship. The plan succeeded. Idolatry triumphed. To have believed, that the Minerva of Athens was only the *emblem* of divine wisdom without a bodily existence, whilst the eye was struck with the dignity of attitude and commanding aspect which the master-hand of Phidias had given to her figure; or that the goddess of love was not something more than allegory, when the graces of her person were seen to swell forth in all the softening of sculpture; was a degree of mental abstraction, of which even the acute Greeks could not be supposed capable. It may now be a task of little difficulty to expound many of the mysterious allegories of heathenism. We may explain, what was to be understood by the car and trident of Neptune, by the chariot of Aurora, and by Phœbus driving his coursers along the ways of heaven. But had we contracted our early habits amid the splendid shrines and majestic forms of these allegorical deities; had we been accustomed to the melodious hymns sung in their honour, and the pompous celebration of their supposed exploits; it had required the sagacity even of a Socrates not to have been misled by  
names

names and legends, and to be always able to see into allusions which the original fabulist might have had in view.

XVI. IN corrupting the ancient records of Greece the Grecian Drama had also a considerable share. The invention both of tragedy and comedy is ascribed to Athens. But jealous of the national glory to a degree of sensibility unexampled in any other people, the Athenians had deemed it a crime, if any entertainment had been produced on the stage that was not taken from the adventures of some Grecian chieftain, or any tradition adopted that cast the least disparagement on the honour of the Athenian people. One tragic writer, Phrynichus, \* ventured to bid defiance to the prejudices of these haughty republicans: he chose for his subject *the overthrow of Miletus by the Persian arms*. The humiliation of a Grecian city, though in Asia, was an insult such as Grecian pride could not brook; and infamy and a severe fine were the rewards of the poet's insolence. To the annals of fiction therefore the tragic bard was obliged to have recourse. Thence he transferred into his piece almost every ideal inhabitant of heaven or earth that fable had created; and even from hell the tremendous personages of the Furies† and of Death‡ were sometimes called up to affright the spectators. Where the subject too had its foundation in real history, many were the changes it was to undergo before

\* Herodot. Erato. Strabo l. 14. 437.

† In the Eumenides of Æschylus.

‡ In the Alceſtis of Euripides.

it could take its place on the Grecian stage: fable was to lend its several comments; every vague tradition was called in; that promised to throw a deeper shade on the tale of woe, or to give the poet occasion to gratify the pride of a vainglorious audience. In this manner Sophocles, in his two plays of *Œdipus*, has called in the aid of fiction, at once to render the history of the unfortunate prince more affecting, and to place in the most advantageous point of view the humanity and generous spirit of his own countrymen. In the *Hippolytus* of Euripides likewise, popular favour guided the poet's genius. The name of Minos was odious at Athens. And Phædra was the daughter of Minos. Euripides constructed his fable accordingly. In his *Medea*, if we may believe *Ælian*,\* he sacrificed truth to motives still more sordid: he sold *Medea* to Corinth.

THESE theatrical representations must therefore not seldom have betrayed the Grecian people into false notions concerning the events of the early ages. The national, and at times, the domestic vanity was interested in adopting what the poet feigned. The achievements he celebrated were those of a Grecian ancestry; the ornaments, however illustrious, with which the dramatic hero was arrayed, were the ornaments of a kinsman. The illusive scenery, besides—the splendid decorations, which Athens, in her day of opulence, was wont to bestow on her theatrical shews with an unsparing hand—above all, the poet's skill in the conduct of his drama; his energy of language; the pathetic situations, in which he

\* Hist. V. 21.



had the art of exhibiting his principal characters ; his strict observance of nature in assigning to each personage manners and sentiments peculiarly suited to the part that personage was to sustain ; and by consequence, the high probability which the dramatic fable acquired—all contributed to help on the deception, and gave to the Grecian stage that fascinating power, which, by the testimony of antiquity, was very hardly to be resisted. To the transported spectator it was no longer poetic artifice, it was all faithful history : it was pleasant, and therefore it was right, to believe it true.

XVII. As the dramatic poet did, the other Grecian poets, even in the most enlightened ages of Greece, did also. Whatever unnatural tale was to be met with in the records of fable, they gave it reception. Every deed of valour was beyond the daring of a mortal. Every extraordinary incident was the work of some god. The prince of lyric poets, Pindar, whose vigorous genius might have disdained such resources, has not only borrowed from the whole range of fabulous story, he himself has added largely to it : the fabled adventures of Prometheus, of Ixion, Pelops, the Cadmean family, the Theban Hercules, have obtained from him a kind of historical dignity ; and to his emboldened fancy the double-formed Centaur is said to owe its existence. In celebrating the several chiefs who are the subject of his song, he has been not less guilty of sacrificing truth to fiction. Ancestors to which they had no right,\* exploits never atchieved, were placed out

\* See Pindar. Olymp. 2. inscribed to Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, whom the poet feigns to be of the royal house of Cadmus. Mem. de l'Acad. Inscr. Tom. 8.

of the reach of dispute by the magic of Pindar's verse, especially when his strains were accompanied, as in the days of Grecian glory they were always accompanied, by the most elevating music.

XVIII. THE festivals, moreover, and the sacred pomps of Greece had a considerable influence in disfiguring its history. Their religious rites were all transcripts from fabulous story or allusions to it. And throughout the whole country scarcely was there an ancient fane, which report had not either honoured with the presence of some god, or made the scene of some of those stupendous actions that stand eminent on the rolls of fiction. At Delphi, the oracular seat of the Pythian Apollo, the voice of all Greece attested the victory, which *the god of the silver bow* had there obtained over the monster Python.\* In the Parthenon, the temple of Minerva at Athens, the miraculous springing up of the olive tree at the bidding of the goddess † was among the principal ornaments of that sumptuous edifice, which were all in the same fabulous style. In like manner, in that noble structure sacred to the Olympian Jove, which Grecian pride had erected on the celebrated banks of the Alpheus, the pagan votary viewed with an awful delight the several wonderful events to which fiction had given birth, the history of the Gorgons, of the enchained Prometheus, of Atlas supporting the heavens, of the Hesperides and their apples of gold, realized by the hand of the artist, and employed in decorating

\* Pausan. Phoc.

† Idem in Atticis.

the dwelling of the god. Even the Olympic, Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian games, those magnificent displays of the national piety, were little else than remembrances of the mighty deeds which fable had recited of their deities and heroes of remote time. And the more splendid was the celebration, the more respectable did the fable become.

IN those parts of Greece whose humbler fortune required a more frugal religion, the ancient legends furnished to the popular superstition other supports not less effectual. Authentic memorials were exhibited of whatever extraordinary incidents were said to have happened in the ages of fiction. On the road from Megara to Eleusis was the very seat\*, upon which Ceres had reposed herself after her painful journeyings in search of her lamented daughter. The Arcadians pointed to the hill † where Pan had invented the flute, and where this their tutelary deity first taught his rustic minstrelsy to their shepherds. Homer mentions the divine origin of Agamemnon's sceptre ‡, doubtless one of those ancient fictions invented to flatter the vanity of the princes of the Pelopian race in their day of power. It was the work of Vulcan, who made it for Jupiter, who presented Mercury with it, from whom it passed successively into the hand of Pelops, of Atreus, of Thyestes, and lastly of Agamemnon. This sacred pledge of empire the priests of Chæronea § pretended to have in their possession; and, such were the illusions of superstition, the highest religious honours were paid to it by the Chæronean people. At Alea || were to be seen the tusk and hide of the

\* Pausan. Attic. p. 41. † Id. Arcad. p. 269. ‡ Iliad. 2. 101. § Pausan. Bœot. p. 315. || Paus. Arcad. 275.



boar of Calydon ; at Tegea \*, the hair of Medusa. At Trœzen was the rock †, under which Theseus found the vouchers of his birth. The people of Nemea shewed the identical den of the lion ‡ whom Hercules encountered. Delphi had a greater wonder, the very stone § used by Rhea to deceive Saturn in order to preserve the newborn Jupiter : disguised in the swaddling clothes of the infant, the mass had been swallowed by the god, but, in a short time after, he had thrown it up again. It was one of the daily cares of the Delphic ministers, at the dawn of morning to pour oil over the sacred stone ; and on the greater festivals the memory of the ancient transaction was revived. by wrapping a cover of wool, fresh from the fleece, round the venerable relic.

SUCH deceptions could not but cast a deep shade over the annals of any people. The fabulist controuled the historian. And whoever questioned the legend, had the most untoward of national prepossessions to contend with.

XIX. BUT what seems to have conduced not less than these other causes to the admission of fable into the Grecian annals, was that favourite folly of the nations of the earth, in which the Greeks were scarcely surpassed by any, *an affectation of antiquity*. Assyria, Egypt, numbered a succession of Kings during a length of ages. The vainglorious Greeks must prefer a similar claim to remoteness of origin ; and to fill up the vacant period, they must suppose flourishing kingdoms and mighty princes in Greece, at a time when her inhabitants, whoever they were, lived dispersed

\* Paus. Arcad. 275. † Id. Corinth. p. 75. ‡ Ib. p. 57. § Phoc. p. 341.

through her forests, and far from being capable of erecting empires, were even strangers to the common blessings of social life. Hence the long line of kings, said to have reigned in Argos, in Sicyon, several hundred years before Greece had a hamlet to boast of. Hence the many names that swell the regal list even of Athens; princes inserted that never reigned there, such as Amphictyon; and princes of different appellations, as Erechtheus and Erichthonius, multiplied by Grecian vanity from one into two or more.

XX. This *affectation* prompted them to another disingenuous practice. The intercourse they enjoyed with Egypt and the East had brought in among them many notices of the ancient world and of the Mosaic history, as well as of the various personages, whether real or allegorical, celebrated in Egyptian or Phœnician story. And the Greeks took care to transfer to themselves every remarkable event recorded by them, so as to make Greece the scene of whatever transaction appeared grand and surprising. Hence the resemblance, which has often struck the learned, between many of the mighty deeds ascribed to the Grecian Perseus, to Alcmena's son, to the allegorical Bacchus of Thebes, and the real exploits of Moses, of Joshua, of the Egyptian Sesostris, and even the imagined feats of the Osiris and Hercules of Egypt. The early navigators of Phœnicia had encountered various perils in exploring distant lands; and therefore with the like escapes was the Argonautic expedition to be adorned. The universal deluge forms a memorable epoch in the annals of human kind: therefore Deucalion's flood must be an event of not less importance.

XXI. NEITHER

XXI. NEITHER is ignorance to be denied its share in the corruptions of early Grecian history. However sagacious and learned they became in process of time, in their first beginnings the Greeks were a people grossly ignorant. They had not any knowledge of other nations except from casual and partial reports.\* They had not any knowledge of the founders of their own states, but from oral tradition, or the flighty and impassioned songs of their bards and itinerant minstrels, the only records of Grecian prowess during several generations. It was not till the days of Pisistratus, that the pursuits of science and the culture of the fine arts began to be in estimation even at Athens. By that time the ancient fictions had obtained the sanction of religion, and were become objects of the national reverence. And many years after the triumph of Greece over the Persian invaders, in her days apparently of highest illumination, to have called in question those tales of antiquity was banishment to an Anaxagoras, and cost a Socrates his life.

To these several causes may be ascribed that inundation of fables which overspreads the remote history of Greece, fables that have maintained a dominion so astonishing over the human mind, through a large portion of Europe and Asia, during upwards of fourteen hundred years. For such was the length of ages that intervened, from the first settling of the Egyptian strangers in Greece, when the mythology of the heathen Greek ritual had its commencement, to the overthrow of paganism by the gospel establishment in Constantine's days,

\* See Plutarch in Cleomenes.



IN their chronology also the Greeks were exceedingly inaccurate. The defect is not to be charged only to their ruder ages; it belongs equally to the times, when the lettered arts of Greece were at their highest period of glory. After the days of Darius Hystaspis, attempts indeed were made by some few writers, Pherecydes the Athenian, Epimenides the historian, Hellanicus, and others, to ascertain the date of events from the successions of the priestesses of Juno at Argos, from the Archons of Athens, from the kings of Sparta. These calculations however were far from being satisfactory; neither did they extend to all Greece, nor to the early ages of the Grecian communities. The usual resource of the annalist, therefore, was to compute back by generations; in collecting which, he had commonly no better guide than vague conjecture, together with an ill-founded notion that three generations extended to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years. On this principle were constructed the great chronological tables of Greece, the Parian Marbles, a monument doubtless highly respectable and of immense labour, but in which the chronologist, too faithful to the prepossessions of his haughty countrymen, has adopted some events of a doubtful authority, and some evidently fabulous; and by supposing every generation commensurate to thirty or forty years, has given to most of the early transactions of Greece an antiquity that does not belong to them.

BESIDES, these chronological tables were not compiled till about sixty years after the death of Alexander, near eight hundred after the migration of the Egyptians into Greece; a tract of time sufficient to have worn out the distinct traces of  
any

any oral tradition, especially where pride and superstition conspired to misrepresent them. The computation by Olympiads is posterior by some years to the date of the Parian Marbles; but had it even been brought sooner into use, it had been of little service with regard to the first ages of Greece, above three hundred and fifty years having elapsed between the arrival of Cecrops and his people, and the regular celebration of the Olympic games after they were restored by Iphitus. On these several accounts, the most judicious of the later Greek writers, Plutarch especially, have considered the chronological reckonings of the first ages of Greece as a very precarious dependance, and where they were not controuled by the religion of the country, have in many cases questioned their testimony.

THE sagacity of the great Newton has at length removed much of the obscurity, of which we have been all along complaining. The taking of Troy is a memorable era in the annals of Greece. Our illustrious modern has discovered, that the Greek chronologists have assigned to this event an antiquity greater by some hundreds of years than the truth, the date of which with much appearance of reason he fixes to about nine hundred years before Christ. This important conclusion he supports, among other arguments, by the following. From Thucydides we learn, that the Doric revolution in the Peloponnesus, or the return of the Heraclidæ, happened about eighty years after the end of the Trojan war. And from the return of the Heraclidæ to the battle of Thermopylæ, which was in the 480th year before Christ, there was a succession of seventeen kings, in each line, on the Spartan throne. Allowing  
twenty

twenty years to each king (and it appears from the known history of several nations, that in a long succession eighteen or twenty years give the mean length of each reign) the seventeen Spartan kings fill up a space of 340 years. So that, between the taking of Troy and the battle of Thermopylæ it is highly improbable that more than 420 years should have elapsed. If so, Troy was taken about 900 years before Christ. The Greek chronologers have stretched out the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and battle of Thermopylæ to the space of 622 years, which would give to each reign  $36\frac{1}{2}$  years, a length, in such a succession of kings, without example in any authentic history. Shortening this interval by 282 years, we shall arrive, as far as the judgment of man may be depended on, to the true era of the destruction of Troy.

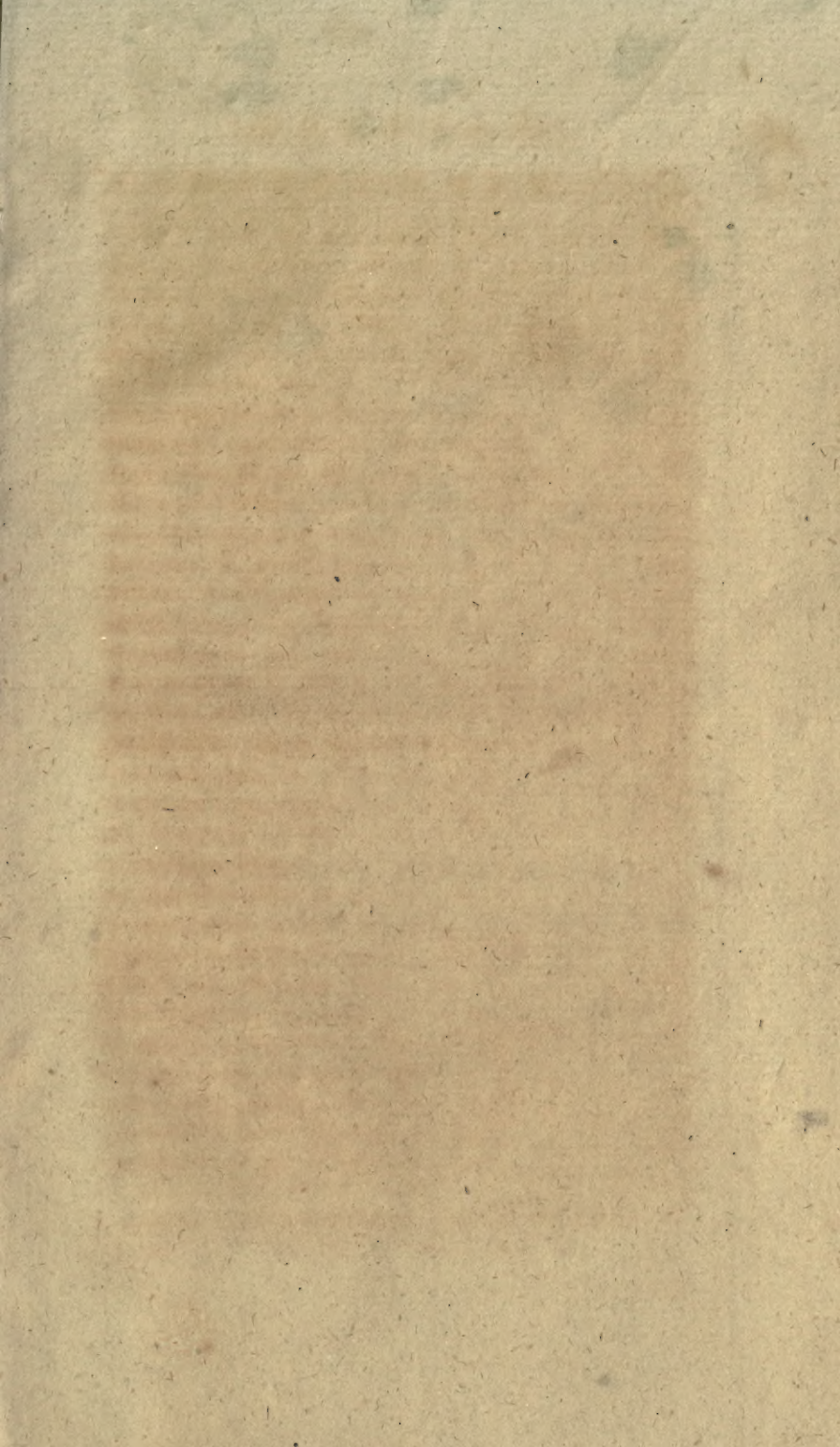
















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